

Heterosexism and Genderism within Policing: A Study of Police Culture in the US and the UK

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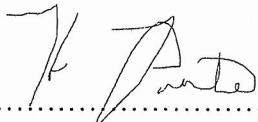
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This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the degree

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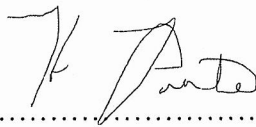
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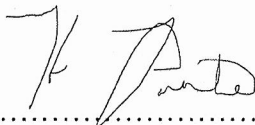
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Abstract

Although research on lesbian, gay and bisexual people has been recently increased within criminology that which specifically examines or includes transgender identities remains exceedingly rare. There is evidence that transgender individuals and LGB individuals both experience similar types of discrimination; however, there are important differences between those who identify as transgender (one's gender identity) and those who identify as LGB (one's sexuality). The present study provides qualitative data from 20 American officers and 19 English and Welsh constables on a particularly under-researched group within criminology: transgender police. Drawing upon theoretical perspectives from criminology, sociology and social psychology, this study examines if gender ideologies and hypermasculinity are monolithic across police cultures. By doing so, the reinforcement of gender binaries which impact gender ideologies and hypermasculinity were perceived as endemic, yet administratively addressable.

The purpose of this research is to examine how transgender identities are perceived and how they are treated within policing. This research answers the following research questions: what are police perceptions towards transgender officers, and what are the consequences of these perceptions?; what are the occupational experiences and perceptions of officers who identify as transgender within policing?; and what are the reported positive and negative administrative issues that transgender individuals face within policing?.

This research found that cisgender (i.e. non-transgender) police, particularly those who are heterosexual, collectively viewed LGB and transgender identities as violating conventional gender ideologies. Further, this research found that transgender police faced varied amounts of heterosexism and genderism based on how well they were able to conform to masculine or feminine ideals in addition to how their occupational transition was administratively managed. Yet some hopeful themes were found that are promising for the future acceptance of additional transgender identities within policing. For example, administrative improvements, such as supportive supervision and leadership alongside transition policies, can improve the occupational experiences of transgender officers and reduce the frequency of bias incidents, complaints and grievances. Further, it was discovered that officers who work alongside transgender colleagues are more understanding of transgender identities and certain social barriers that they face.

Abbreviations

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
GD	Gender Dysphoria
GID	Gender Identity Disorder
HRT	Hormone Replacement Therapy
IPCC	Independent Police Complaints Commission
LGB	Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual
LGBT+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and other sexuality/gender variants
NTPA	National Transgender Police Officer Association
TCOPS	Transgender Community of Police and Sheriffs
Trans	Transgender
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

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Chapter One

Introduction

Male detective: I mean; what I am trying to ask is why does he have to act like a sissy? Shit, I don't know ... I just don't get it; I think it is sick with two men being together. But lesbians, now that is sexy.

Me (as a detective): Geez ... I cannot imagine what you would think about someone who went through a sex change, like Officer Smith¹.

Male detective: I think that is weird as shit. She was ugly as a man and even uglier as a woman. I heard she is dating men now but was dating women in the past. It's so weird. I don't think she should have been allowed back on the street. People look at her and don't know what to think. I am just glad she finally retired so I don't have to see her at our in-service² ... I am just glad I am retiring soon so it doesn't become a circus around here (Police Field Notes, 2012).

The premise of this research stemmed from my experiences when I was a tenured detective in a major American city. I began this chapter with the above dialogue because it sums up controversial police perceptions of sexuality, gender and performance within police culture, which are explored throughout this research. The main aims of this research are to examine perceptions towards transgender identities within policing, and to look at how these perceptions impact the occupational and administrative experiences of transgender police in America, England and Wales.

The term transgender is used to describe the full spectrum of individuals who identify as having non-traditional gender identities, yet arguably it is a natural phenomenon. In accordance with other researchers (see: Erich et al., 2010; Gagne et al., 1997; Miles-Johnson, 2013, 2015), this research defines transgender as including the following individuals: those who have had gender reassignment surgery to change from one biological sex to the other; those taking hormones and other medications to help transition their physical body from one to another; those who dress as the gender opposite of their biological sex because they feel they belong to the wrong sex; those who privately dress as the gender opposite of their biological sex for personal or erotic reasons; those who desire to be the opposite gender of their biological sex; and those individuals who do not identify or associate with stereotypical binary gender categories. Historically, because

¹ Pseudonym created to protect the identity of the officer in question.

² *In-service* is annual police officer training required by agencies and mandated by American states to keep arrest powers (i.e. certification).

these individuals challenge and disrupt cultural expectations of gender identity, this can lead to different forms of social bias (Garfinkel, 1967; Kessler and McKenna, 1978). While the bias they face is typically based on societal expectations of gender performance, they also face bias as a result of societal concepts of heteronormativity³. Notably, these individuals are different from LGB identities (who are characterised by sexual attractions, not gender identity), yet those who identify as transgender may identify as LGB and face similar biases.

Historically, police interactions and social relationships with members of LGBT+⁴ communities have been strained and plagued with accusations of negative conduct and/or LGBT+ bias. Research (see Dworkin and Yi, 2003; Herek et al., 2002; Herek et al., 1999) has previously suggested that sexual minorities are subject to enacted stigma in the form of prejudice and harassment, are stereotyped as deviants, and are targets of victimisation and discrimination because of their perceived nonconformity with binary gender systems (Grossman and D'Augelli, 2006). Yet there is empirical neglect of those who represent the antithesis of social binary gender conformity – those who identify as transgender.

Prior to the 1970s, LGBT+ people were often labelled as criminals, psychopaths, sinners and perverts (Sarbin, 1996). It has been documented within policing that homosexuality and transsexuality represent aspects of social disorder or social deviance, and officers are tasked with regulating behaviour associated with gay sexuality and transsexuality (Rummens and Broomfield, 2012). This regulated behaviour within policing has caused fractious and volatile interactions between the police and the LGBT+ community. In contrast, individuals who have identified themselves as LGBT+ have expressed distrust in reporting crimes and feelings of being unprotected due to their perceived opinions of the police (Williams and Robinson, 2004; Grant et al., 2011). Further, relationships between the LGBT+ community and the police have been plagued with hostility, with accusations of misconduct (see Cook, 2007; Greenberg Taurig LLP, 2011; Steed, 2011; Pena, 2009); but questions remain as to the extent and occurrence of heterosexism and genderism within occupational cultures of policing.

Previous research by Burke (1993, 1994a, 1994b) disclosed that LGB police officers perceived police work and police organisations as representative conservative elements within society. This conservatism is typically linked with anti-LGBT+ attitudes (Rumens and Broomfield, 2012). Since Burke's studies (1993, 1994a, 1994b), there have been positive social and legal changes concerning LGBT+ acceptance (Weeks, 2007), yet there are few researchers who have investigated contemporary LGBT+ bias within policing within America, England and Wales. As such, this research examines how cisgender⁵

³ This is explored in theoretical detail in Chapters Two and Three.

⁴ LGBT+ is a common term associated with individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and +. The plus includes different dimensions in sexuality and gender identity.

⁵ *Cisgender* describes individuals whose gender assigned at birth is the same as the gender they associate and present themselves as.

police officers in these countries perceive transgender identities within policing and focuses on how cisgender perceptions impact the experiences of transgender officers within police culture comparatively.

1.1 Purpose of the Study

There are over 9 million Americans who currently openly identify as LGB. Out of that, 8 million⁶ Americans, comprising 3.5% of the adult population, identify as lesbian, gay or bisexual (Gates, 2011). In America, at least 19 million (8.2%) individuals have openly reported engaging in same-sex behaviour, and nearly 25.6 million Americans (11%) openly acknowledge some type of same-sex sexual attraction (Gates, 2011). No concrete numbers exist concerning the prevalence of transgender identification, but there are an estimated 700,000 transgender individuals in the United States (Gates, 2011). Previous research based on gender reassignment surgeries performed each year in America indicates that between 1 out of every 500 and 1 out of every 2,500 people identify as transsexual (Conway, 2001). Notably, not all transgender individuals identify as transsexual, and some transsexuals may opt out of having gender reassignment surgery.

Comparatively, in the United Kingdom, 545,000 adults (1.1%) openly identify as lesbian or gay, with 220,000 (0.4%) adults openly identifying as bisexual (Office of National Statistics, 2012). Like America, there is no concrete estimate on the amount of individuals who identify as transgender, but some research estimations are around 300,000 to 500,000 (Reed, Rhodes, Schofield and Wylie, 2009). The prevalence of transsexual identities, based on reported NHS gender reassignment surgeries each year, indicate 20 per 100,000 patients have sought medical care for gender variance, with 6,000 undergoing surgical transition (GIRES, 2011). Research trends in the United Kingdom indicate an upward trend of 11% undergoing gender reassignment surgeries every year, with an anticipated doubling of patients seeking out gender reassignment treatment every five to six years (Reed et al., 2009). Arguably, trans identities are becoming more visible and are increasing in frequency within society (Miles-Johnson, 2015). Since transgender identities are often associated with LGB identities and there exists societal perceptions that some members of the LGBT+ community challenge gender ideologies, often separating the ‘T’ from “LGB” becomes empirically difficult⁷.

In respect to the transgender community, it should be noted that empirical estimations of gender identities are difficult. First, some trans individuals may try to keep their trans status private, making them difficult to account for. Second, trans identities represent a broad spectrum of various gender identities and expressions. Historically, when we examine the prevalence of trans identities, previous research has only indicated a small proportion of those who actually identify as transgender. Western studies yield a range of

⁶ It was estimated that 8 million, out of 9 million, identified as LGB with the other million identifying as residing as within two categories.

⁷ This is explored in the proceeding contextual chapters and also the findings chapters.

1:11,900 to 1:45,000 for trans feminine identities, and 1:30,400 to 1:200,000 for trans masculine identities (see: Gates, 2011; Olyslager and Conway, 2007; Reed et al., 2009).

A brief analysis of membership patterns of a US-based organisation TCOPS (Transgender Community of Police and Sheriffs) indicates that less than 1% – an estimated 0.18% – of American police officers openly identify as transgender (equating to 1,300 out of 698,460 officers). Comparatively, while there are no official estimates of the number of transgender constables, an analysis of membership of UK based NTPA (National Trans Police Association) indicates that an estimated 0.084% of British police constables freely disclose that they are transgender (equating to 110 out of 129,584 constables). Moreover, based on this research, spanning from 2012 to 2015, both TCOPS and NTPA reported an increase in membership patterns of 10%, which arguably indicates willingness to disclose transgender identities within policing over time. It should be noted that statistics covering the prevalence of transsexuality and other forms of gender variance are difficult to accurately measure for several reasons. First, not all transgender police chose to join transgender police organisations, transgender police “in the closet”⁸ may not wish to be connected to these organisations. Second, several research participants were not aware that some of these organisations exist. As such, these numbers are likely to be very conservative estimates rather than a true representation of population sizes and should be used with prudence.

Despite these caveats, available information suggests it is likely that an officer will encounter a member of the LGBT+ community during the course of their policing career either within the non-policing community or the policing community itself. Therefore, this research fulfilled several purposes. First, researching potential bias within police culture allows criminologists to understand how officers’ perceptions might impact their treatment of LGBT+ individuals. It should be noted that police biases based on the foundation of sexuality and gender expectations clearly operate in the attitudes as they are expressed on the street, in the home, at the workplace and/or at social venues (Scruton and Chadwick, 1996). As such, LGBT+ bias displayed by officers should be extensively examined to determine if elements of “institutional homophobia and transphobia” (LGBT Advisory Group, 2007, p. 8) exist within policing. There may have been progressive societal transformation, and public perceptions towards members of the LGBT+ community may have changed, but it is unclear if current police culture is plagued with heterosexist and/or genderist attitudes. Further, it should be noted that once bias is institutionalised in any work setting, heterosexism and genderism become systematic and structured (Scruton and Chadwick, 1996).

Second, this research examined how a subcultural group of society (i.e. the police) who exist in a hypermasculine environment perceive gender expectations and trans identities. Notably, gender expectations are reinforced within society (i.e., socialised

⁸ See Chapter Six.

heteronormativity) and do not generally allow for the acceptance of transgender people as part of how we understand humanity. Current legal classifications of gender exclude the possibility of the existence of transgender identities through adherence to rigid gender binaries of 'male' and 'female' (Spade, 2008). Social institutions exclude transgender identities and create substantial barriers to changing gender. Moreover, research has identified high levels of violent crime and discrimination against transgender people, which indicate an overall hostile climate (see: Grant et al., 2011; Spade, 2008).

Third, researchers have shown in different occupations that trans employees experience substantial stigmas in workplace environments, which leads to increased reports of overt discrimination (see: Barclay and Scott, 2006; Dietert and Dentice, 2009; Gange et al., 1997; Irwin, 2002). In addition to social obstacles and blatant discrimination, transgender individuals also experience higher levels of poverty, employment discrimination and homelessness than cisgender people (Grant et al., 2011). Researchers have also shown that many transgender people are apprehensive of seeking help from the police due to potential victimisation or re-victimisation committed by the police (Grant et al., 2011; Mogul et al., 2011; Xavier et al., 2007). Further, transgender women who engage in illegal work for their economic survival report a higher incidence of verbal, sexual and physical abuse by police officers than cisgender sex workers (see: Nemoto et al., 2004; Valera et al., 2000). As described above, transgender individuals, whether breaking or adhering to social norms and laws, face heightened risks of police abuse. Therefore, it is imperative that trans bias within policing should be subject to empirical scrutiny.

1.2 Research Aims

There exists disparity between perceptions held by police agencies' acceptance of gay identities and/or homosexuality (Stewart, 1997) and transsexuality. Despite the fact that the police have attempted to make significant changes in policy and practice implemented towards transgender people (e.g. improvement of hate crime reporting, LGBT+ liaison officers, etc.), members of the transgender community have purposively avoided contact and interaction with police (see: Dwyer, 2011; Dwyer and Ball, 2012; Miles-Johnson, 2013, 2015). Further, police administrators claim to promote equality and a supportive work environment for transgender employees, but it is unknown how ideologies of masculinity within policing either promote or condone heterosexist and genderist behaviour held by those within the lower ranks within policing. As such, this research focused more consideration towards those who have the most encounters with members of the community – those officers in lower administrative police positions who have more contact with transgender communities and fellow transgender colleagues. Specifically, this research examined how to improve the occupational work experiences of transgender officers and established recommendations to further the acceptance of transgender identities within policing. This research aimed to provide the foundation for the building blocks which will lead to the improvement of relationships within policing with both transgender officers and members of the transgender community.

1.3 Research Questions

As this was the first piece of empirical research to specifically examine non-transgender perceptions of transgender identities within policing and the occupational experiences of transgender police, this research answered the following research questions:

- 1) What are the perceptions of cisgender officers towards transgender officers, and what are the consequences of these perceptions?
- 2) What are the occupational experiences and perceptions of officers who identify as transgender within policing?
- 3) What are the reported positive and negative administrative issues that transgender individuals face within policing?

1.4 Thesis Organisation

The first stage of this research consisted of three contextual chapters. The contextual content explored key terms and theories⁹. During this process, literature was examined which conceptualised the subject of heterosexism and genderism within police culture. Chapter two comparatively examined the key concepts of homophobia, heterosexism, heteronormativity and genderism within criminology to avoid terminological confusion, since trans identities often face anti-gay biases. Chapter three focused on theories of police culture and gender role ideology within police environments to better understand how bias can thrive through understanding occupational socialisation. Further, the academic literature from these two chapters were critiqued based on a perceived LGBT+ prejudice to develop and operationalise the concepts of group position and stereotypes as mediating mechanisms which was used to explain heterosexism and genderism within policing.

The second phase of this research involved a qualitative exploration of heterosexism and genderism in policing, in which qualitative interviews were conducted with active serving police in the United States, England and Wales. This consisted of a thematic analysis of findings from 39 interviews with officers and constables embedded within police culture. These interviews were collected while on ride-alongs, over the telephone, at trans-specific events and in person. One of the purposes of the comparative approach was to determine whether trans biases within police culture exist as a monolithic component, or whether it varies according to other aspects of policing. The third stage of this research situated the findings within extant literature and evaluated the findings and their academic implications. Finally, recommendations for improving the occupational experiences of transgender individuals within police organisations are put forward.

⁹ Notably, throughout this piece relevant theories are interwoven to aid in the construction of a theoretical backbone which is explored in detail in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven.

Chapter Two

Literature Review of LGB Police Research and Theoretically Associated Terminology

2.1 Heteronormativity, Homophobia, and Heterosexism

This chapter considers the conceptual and terminological differences between homophobia and heterosexism¹⁰ to better define the components of this research and to assist in conceptualisation of the main theoretical arguments. It should be noted that inappropriate verbiage when studying societal groups can complicate research discoveries and place improper stigmas on particular phraseologies. For example, the social stigmas attached to the word ‘homophobia’ carry socially oppressive weight and might be used incorrectly when describing heterosexist bias. As such, when examining bias, it is important to understand how certain terminologies are connected to specific sexualities to better understand how they can be identified within police cultures.

The purpose of exploring the differences between heteronormativity, homophobia, and heterosexism within police cultures is that there is a lack of research on trans identities within policing specifically, and previous research on LGB bias can contribute to theoretical frameworks in respect to this research. Second, as stated in chapter one, trans individuals may identify as LGB or previously have identified as LGB, and they are just as susceptible to LGB bias compared to cisgender LGB individuals. Third, trans identities are often socially associated with biased words directed towards the cisgender LGB community even though they may not identify as LGB. These include, for example, words like “faggot”, “fairy”, “sissy”, “bull-dyke”, etc.¹¹.

2.2 Heteronormativity

In American and British societies, heterosexual norms are constructed and reproduced spatially throughout policing. The term heteronormativity encompasses the notion that certain cultural beliefs regarding sexuality and social expectations of heterosexual love, sex and reproduction are exclusive in society (Hubbard, 2008). As Herek (1992) states:

Heterosexuality is equated ideologically with ‘normal’ masculinity and ‘normal’ femininity, whereas homosexuality is equated with violating the norms of gender (p. 97).

¹⁰ This chapter, unlike the following chapter, specifically focuses on LGB research and issues within policing. Since the transgender community is often associated with the LGB community and can identify as LGB it is critical that this be explored in this research. The following chapter will specifically look at transgender research and issues within policing separately. This is not an intentional alienation of the transgender community from the LGB community, but was done to ensure fluidity in the presentation of ideas. Further, since vital material is presented in both chapters by separating the chapters I wanted to ensure that relevant material was not overlooked by readers.

¹¹ This is explored in Chapter Eight.

The links between traditional gender role ideology and anti-homosexual sentiment have been frequently suggested in sociology and criminology, yet there exists empirical neglect on how traditional gender role ideology can impact anti-transgender sentiments. This gender role ideology relies upon a binary sex system in which ‘normal’ attraction occurs between two gendered types of bodies defined as opposites (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009). Therefore, heterosexuality and gender identity could arguably rely upon social perceptions of genitalia which is influenced by heteronormativity, even though during most social interactions genitals may not be visible (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009). Socially, there exists a perception that a person’s gender matches their ‘biological’ credentials (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009). In other words, due to heteronormativity there is an assumption that gendered appearances reflect biologically sexed realities (West and Zimmerman, 1987).

In the context of this research, when conceptualising theoretical concepts of heteronormativity, heterosexism and homophobia, it should be understood that heteronormativity is the ideology and heterosexism is the system in which homophobia manifests itself. Both heteronormativity and heterosexism must be present in the opinions, perceptions, behaviours and attitudes of an individual in order to graduate to the state of homophobic manifestation. Arguably, homophobia is a consciously known cognitive behaviour that exists within certain individuals and is a result of socialised societal expectations of heteronormativity. While homophobic individuals are consciously aware that they are homophobic because they know they possess a bias, individuals who possess ideologies of heterosexism may not be aware they are heterosexist because heterosexist ideologies are reliant upon reinforced socialised components of heteronormativity. Therefore, without the existence of heteronormativity combined with heterosexism, homophobia, arguably, may not manifest in an individual.

2.3 Homophobia

In recent decades, there has been a psychosocial movement that has described homophobia as a general dislike of LGBT+ individuals and/or an opposition to their political claims directed towards attaining equal rights in modern democratic systems. The term homophobia has become common vernacular in society which denotes negativity towards homosexuality in general (Mason, 2002). George Weinberg (1972) first proposed a new type of phobia, which was “the dread of being in close quarters with homosexuals” (p. 4). Weinberg (1972) proposed an unorthodox view to describe a mental illness resulting in hatred, fear or avoidance of homosexuals founded upon a complex interaction between socialised notions of heteronormativity and internalised conflicts. By proposing that homophobia was a result of a social pathology instead of a personal pathology, Weinberg (1972) contended that homophobia was constructed by society to be viewed as an illness. In other words, it implicated that society was to blame for the consequences for homophobia, and not those who are non-heteronormative. This rejected the prevailing cultural assumption of the time, that non-heteronormative identities were an individualised pathology. Likewise, this new social phenomenon in the form of a

phobia suggested that homophobia specifically afflicted certain sexually repressed individuals. Weinberg's (1972) theory – that placing prejudiced individual homophobes into a clinical pathologised category conflicted with the essentialist model of identity – which was challenged by other psychotherapists (Tomsen, 2009).

Academically, psychologists Hudson and Ricketts (1980) stated that the term homophobia has been diluted because literature includes any negative attitude, belief or action towards homosexuality. Further, Hudson and Ricketts (1980) criticised previous social science studies for not making a distinction between intellectual attitudes towards homosexuality (homonegativism) and affective responses towards gay and some transgender individuals (homophobia). Hudson and Ricketts (1980) defined homophobia as an emotional or affective response – including fear, anxiety, anger, discomfort and aversion – that an individual experiences in interacting with those who do not identify as heterosexual, which may or may not include a cognitive component. Hudson and Ricketts (1980) were not alone in their criticisms of how the social sciences have ignored any operational definition of what the term homophobia means.

Since Hudson and Ricketts' (1980) study, several social scientists have made attempts to properly define what homophobia is and how it should be used in the social sciences (Fyfe, 1983; Bernstein, 1994; Rowan, 1994; O'Donahue and Caselles, 1993). Further, historically the term homophobia itself has theoretically ignored structural, institutional, political and normative assumptions (Peel, 2001). Therefore, it is vital to establish what homophobia is in the context of this research to better understand its potential impact on trans identities before theoretical components of transgender-specific biases are examined in the chapters to come.

For the purposes of this criminological research, homophobia is used to describe individuals who have an irrational fear of being in close proximity to members of the LGBT+ community based upon socialised constructs of heteronormativity. Homophobia is thus limited in its representation of discrimination as the product of individual fear. Therefore homophobia does not as a construct encapsulate the precarious societal pathology that is directly implicated in anti-LGBT+ victimisation (Smith et al. 2012). Much like Hudson and Ricketts (1980), I contend that homophobia is an affective response based upon socialised heteronormativity that makes it difficult for an officer to be around, detain, arrest, talk to and casually interact with an individual who is LGBT+. In other words, homophobia is a complex mixture of individual attitudes towards non-heteronormative identities and the social constructs of heteronormativity (i.e. heterosexism).

2.4 Heterosexism

LGBT+ activists and researchers often prefer the term heterosexism, because it offers a structural dimension and suggests parallels with other forms of disadvantage linked to prejudice (Tomsen, 2009; Burn et al. 2005). In lesbian and gay psychology, and even in

some feminist theoretical work, the term heterosexism is preferred due to the perception that heterosexism is a pervasive cultural and ecological phenomenon rather than simply incidents experienced by some individuals. In other words, homophobia concerns the individual and heterosexism refers to cultural arena. The following figure displays how the term heterosexism has evolved and its discrepancies within gender studies, occupational studies, sociology and psychology:

Figure 2.1 How Heterosexism has been defined in Social Science Literature

Academic	Date	Definition
Neisen	1990	The continued promotion of a heterosexual lifestyle and the subordination of gay and lesbian lifestyles.
Sears	1997	“A belief in the superiority of heterosexuals or heterosexuality evidenced in the exclusion, by omission or design, of non-heterosexual persons in policies, procedures, events, or activities” (p. 16).
Herek	2004	The cultural ideology that maintains social prejudice against sexual minorities.
Alden and Parker	2005	The belief system that posits superiority of heterosexuality over homosexuality.

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Herek (1990) defined heterosexism as an ideological system that denies, denigrates and stigmatises non-heterosexual behaviour. Herek (1990) further broke down heterosexism into cultural heterosexism (encompassing the stigmatisation, denial or denigration of non-heterosexuality in cultural institutions within public institutions) and psychological heterosexism (a person’s internalisation of cultural heterosexism, which erupts into homophobia). Herek (1992) additionally proposed that cultural heterosexism is based in society, customs, religion and legal institutions; and, comparatively, psychological heterosexism is based on the attitude and behaviour of individuals. Cultural heterosexism, therefore, will be critically examined in this research along with components of psychological heterosexism. Notably, within police culture, much like other social groups, there is an assumption that the world must be heterosexual, and it assumes that

¹² Selected definitions were obtained from a literature search which yielded 52 different articles in 17 different peer-reviewed journals with the key words ‘homophobia’ and ‘heterosexism’.

sexuality and gender are intertwined yet never separated. This reinforces societal expectations of how gender should be performed and reinforces cultural underpinnings of binary gender ideology.

Further, the psychologists Herek (1990) and Kinsman (1987) advocated for the usage of the term heterosexism due to the social stigma of an anti-homosexual sentiment and the argument that a phobia implies that a person's attitude towards LGBT+ individuals is the product of fear (Mason, 2002). Herek (2000) further advocated for the term heterosexism in additional research in which he identifies heterosexism as an "ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behaviour, identity, relationship, or community" (p. 316). Therefore, the usage of the term heterosexism shifts the emphasis from unique individuals' attitudes to include social customs and institutions as part of the problem without excluding it (Peel, 2001). Hence, I am specifically using the term heterosexism when exploring components of police culture, which encompasses police social customs and the institution itself.

It should be noted that heterosexism is dynamic and situational and can be suspended or suddenly evoked during a wide range of social circumstances within the field of policing that impact officer discretion (Tomsen, 2009). As such, it is of vital importance that the existence of heterosexism be fully explored in law enforcement, as officers are faced with a variety of response situations involving diverse social circumstances that may have a direct impact on an officer's treatment of members belonging to the LGBT+ community. This is why the queer criminology movement¹³ has advocated for more empirical research specifically on bias directed towards LGBT+ identities.

2.4.1 Heterosexist Expressions

Notably, heterosexism centres upon normalising and privileging heterosexuality. Heterosexism highlights social beliefs, and a more dynamic ways of thinking about prejudiced behaviours. The expression of heterosexism is linked to factors like gender role traditionalism, which includes adherence to traditional and rigid social constructions about what constitutes appropriate male and female behaviour (see: Goodman and Moradi, 2008; Hoover and Fishbein, 1999; Theodore and Basow, 2000); religiosity (see: Herek and Capitanio, 1996; Laythe et al., 2001); intolerance and prejudice of out-groups (i.e. those who are not part of a dominant group in society) (see: Hegarty and Pratto, 2001; Wickberg, 2000); and social power imbalances (e.g. dominant groups in society that retain power by minimising the influence of marginalised groups) (see: Bernstein et al., 2003; Wickberg, 2000). Similarly, Herek (1984) theorised that heterosexist behaviour is a result of less personal contact with LGB identities; not engaging in LGB behaviour or

¹³ While there exists some debate over the differences between 'queer criminology' and 'queer theory' (See: Ball, 2014), 'queer criminology' in this reference refers to: research on LGBT+ people and their interactions with the justice system; research that identifies and critiques heteronormative knowledge or binaried understandings of gender and sexuality; and theoretical/ conceptual pieces that argue for a greater connection between queer theory and criminology. This is revisited in the following chapter.

identifying as LGB; perceptions that peers hold the same anti-gay attitudes; living in geographical regions where more negative attitudes towards LGB identities exist; being older and less educated; believing in more conservative religious ideology; holding traditional sex role ideologies; having more negative views about sexuality and expressing more guilt about sexuality; and possessing an authoritative type of personality.

Notably, besides these characteristics that can implicate the expression of heterosexism, demographic factors of gender (Hegarty and Pratto, 2001; Herek, 2002), ethnicity (Herek and Capitanio, 1995), age and educational level (Herek, 1994) can also influence the expression of heterosexism. Notably, the collective expression within police culture of both gender role ideology and heterosexism can impact the amount of displays of anti-LGBT+ bias in occupational realms. Further, previous research has shown that intensity of heterosexism at the individual level can vary and be impacted by gender (Connell, 1995; Kimmel 1994), age (Kite and Whitley, 1998; Morrison et al., 1997), religious ideology (Birken, 1997; Herek, 1984; Peplau et al., 1993) and adherence to gender role ideology (Cotton-Huston and Waite, 2000). Arguably, in an arena (e.g. policing) where gender roles are heightened, it makes sense to conclude that collective expression of heterosexism as a cultural phenomenon can manifest.

Therefore, heterosexist attitudes can manifest in certain attitudes and behaviours, including verbal and physical abuse as extreme outliers. Attitudes and behaviours can range from avoidance through fear to avoidance through aggression. This can include negative talk, social exclusion of those that are LGBT+, verbal insults and threats, changing bathroom behaviour, spreading rumours, requesting transfers from police units occupied with LGBT+ members, occupational discrimination, and telling anti-gay jokes.

Herek (1984) suggested that expressions of heterosexist attitudes and behaviours can serve as personal functions for certain people. These functions include: those who categorise reality based on previous interactions (experiential), those who use their behaviour to cope with conflicts and anxieties by projecting themselves onto others (defensive), and those who use abstract ideological concepts to express closely linked to notions of self (symbolic). Notably, heterosexist behavioural correlates and their expressions can vary in usage and occurrence towards LGBT+ identities.

2.4.2 Existing Studies on Heterosexist Language and the LGB Community

When exploring the effects of heterosexism, the usage of anti-gay language obviously plays a part in LGBT+ experiences and perceptions of biased behaviour. Anti-gay language itself can be an indication of heterosexism when it is directed towards LGBT+ individuals. As such, it would be impossible to explore the effects of heterosexism without exploring how heterosexist words impact members of the LGBT+ community.

In a study involving 175 participants who were college undergraduate students, Burn, Kadlec and Rexer (2005) examined heterosexism by looking at LGB¹⁴ individuals' experiences of anti-gay harassment. Burn, Kadlec and Rexer (2005) asked the participants to read hypothetical scenarios using key derogatory terms used to describe gay men or lesbian women. Participants then indicated on a Likert scale (7 = Strongly Agree, 1 = Strongly Disagree) the extent to which they would be offended and to what extent they would disclose their sexual orientation. Burn, Kadlec and Rexer (2005) found that LGB participants reported being offended by the presented scenarios, and therefore being less likely to disclose their sexual orientation, in perceived hostile environments. Burn, Kadlec and Rexer (2005) also discovered the LGB participants perceived individuals who used statements in the scenarios were prejudiced against gay men and lesbian women, with lesbian women and bisexuals viewing the scenarios as more offensive than gay males. This study confirmed that such remarks can contribute to further stigmatisation of non-heterosexual orientations.

Herek (1989) discovered that 92% of lesbians and gay men have been targets of some type of anti-gay verbal abuse or threats. In the United States, heterosexist words are commonly used to describe an individual in a negative way (Burn, 2000; DiPlacido, 1998; Plummer, 2001; Thurlow, 2001). Comparatively, Thurlow (2001) found that in Britain, heterosexist words and phrases are among the most frequently used pejorative terms, accompanying racist, sexist and phallogocentric language. While there has been a vast amount of feminist work concerning theorising sexist language (Peel, 2001), there is a demand for more research in policing and management issues with regard to heterosexist and genderist¹⁵ language and how it impacts LGBT+ employees.

2.5 Existing Studies on Police Interactions with LGBT+ Communities

While there is scant research on LGBT+ identities within policing, it is beneficial from an ontological standpoint to explore how non-police LGB identities perceive the police, which arguably can contribute to the theoretical framework of this research. For a more conceptualised research understanding of the problem of heterosexism in policing, it would be beneficial therefore to examine how the LGB community perceives its treatment by officers. Thus, this section looks at previous empirical research which examined perceptions held by non-police LGB individuals towards the police.

One report completed by Amnesty International (2005) indicates that LGBT+ communities are untrusting of the police because of the way they have been historically treated by the police. Amnesty International (2005) conducted hundreds of interviews with American LGBT+ individuals from 50 of the largest police areas and discovered there had been complaints of targeted and discriminatory enforcement of statutes against

¹⁴ While Burn, Kadlec and Rexer (2005) examined lesbians, gays and bisexuals, they did not include trans individuals in their research. Notably, trans populations can experience anti-gay harassment, since trans sexualities vary.

¹⁵ Genderism is explored at length in the following chapter.

LGBT+ people, including so-called ‘quality of life’ and morals regulations; complaints of verbal abuse from the police; complaints of inappropriate pat-down and strip searches conducted by the police; complaints of inappropriate response or failure to respond to hate crimes or domestic abuse calls; allegations of sexual harassment and abuse, including rape committed by the police; and allegations of physical abuse, which, at times, amounted to torture and ill-treatment committed by the police (Amnesty International, 2005). Notably, this report did not specifically explore perceptions and attitudes held against the police; instead it highlighted the reasons why the LGBT+ community has been historically untrusting of the police.

Comparatively, Williams and Robinson (2004) surveyed 354 lesbian, gay and bisexual people living in Wales to assess their perceptions and experiences of the police and the criminal justice system. They found that the LGB community is suspicious of the police while feeling simultaneously harassed and unprotected by them. Additionally, they discovered that LGB perceptions of discrimination varied based on geographical regions. For example, LGB individuals in North Wales were more likely to report discrimination and harassment than those living in Mid-Wales and South Wales (Williams and Robinson, 2004). They attributed this to poor policing practice, smaller LGB populations and officer existence in a rural environment that may make it more difficult for the police to improve their relationship due to lack of LGBT+ interactions.

While my research did not explore Northern Ireland, one relevant study that can illustrate LGBT+ attitudes towards British police was conducted for the Northern Ireland Policing Board (NIPB) and the Office of the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland (OPONI). Radford, Betts and Ostermeyer (2006) conducted this study, which researched the attitudes and experiences of individuals who identify as members of the LGB community and their opinions of their previous police interactions. Radford, Betts and Ostermeyer (2006) conducted several different types of methodologies, including: questionnaires completed by 233 participants; focus groups involving 90 participants; small group and individual interviews with members of the LGB community; interviews with police and community organisations working with the LGB community; participant observation of policing at clubs and gay-friendly venues; and observation of LGB training sessions for serving police officers. The main findings revealed that: 60% who had been a victim of a crime reported it to the police; 32% of respondents experienced problems with the police in the last year, of which 42% found the service from police unsatisfactory and 40% said a police officer had been impolite or rude; and 25% of respondents who had experienced problems with the police felt these were due to their sexual orientation (Radford, Betts and Ostermeyer, 2006).

2.6 Prior Research of LGB Police Officers and Heterosexism

Early criminological research on LGB police officers focused on the idea that being gay and being a police officer represented dual and often conflicting identities (Burke, 1993; Leinen, 1993). Previous researchers attempted to understand how officers, as regulators

of deviance, reconciled a 'deviant' behaviour within policing (Burke, 1994; Leinen, 1993). These studies disclosed that police officers often reported that lines of division, distrust and resentment exist between gay and straight officers (Sklansky, 2006).

Arnott (1994) concluded that straight police officers, who make up the bulk of police forces, are fearful of gays and lesbians and appear to be 'homophobic' in general. It has been contended that the occupational culture of policing creates negative attitudes about minority individuals (Leinen, 1993) and over-policing that has been over-zealous and arbitrary in its application of gross indecency laws with regard to sexual behaviour in public places (Derbyshire, 1990; Seabrook, 1992; Valverde and Cirak, 2003), which has impacted how the LGBT+ community perceives the police. In comparison, American researchers have also found evidence that some homophobic crimes are actually perpetrated by police officers themselves (Herek, 1989; Berrill, 1992).

Ground-breaking research in the study of lesbian and gay police officers initially began with Stephen Leinen's *Gay Cops* (1993) and Marc Burke's *Coming Out of the Blue* (1993). While Leinen's (1993) research focused on the narratives of 41 lesbian and gay officers in New York City and Burke's (1993) research focused specifically on officers in the United Kingdom, both works examined discrimination and harassment that gay and lesbian officers faced when managing their sexual identity as police officers. Notably, Burke's study (1993) of nine forces in England and Wales demonstrated that widespread prejudices and biases existed within policing towards individuals who identify as LGB.

Burke (1993) additionally disclosed three major findings in his research. First, homosexuality represents an aspect of social deviance that the police have had to address in the past, which creates a volatile socialised environment between LGBT+ communities and the police. Second, normative characteristics of masculinity in police culture (i.e. emphasis on control, physical aggression and competition) place little emphasis on 'feminine' qualities which have been associated with male homosexuality (Burke, 1993). Third, gay and lesbian officers reported that police work and organisations are understood to represent conservative elements within society, which are linked to anti-homosexual attitudes (Burke, 1993). Burke (1993) argued that the reported biases, prejudices and discrimination were based on heteronormative perceptions of homosexual social stereotypes, which are connected with effeminacy and weakness. Further, the perceived sexual deviance of homosexuality challenged the conservative, conformist and binary gender role assumptions that are connected with the masculine subcultural macho ethos which is constructed within police culture and impacts police mentality.

Burke (1994a, 1994b), in additional studies, stated that the macho subculture of policing and the police's role as regulators of deviance makes it difficult for police to adopt or accept a nonconformist orientation, such as homosexuality. Burke (1994a, 1994b) found that non-equal rights, machismo culture and the police as regulators of deviance are all factors that make it difficult for police culture to accept non-normative behaviour in

relationship to LGB officer acceptance. This non-normative behaviour can be described as nonconformity of stereotypical sexual norms. It should be noted that since Leinen's (1993) and Burke's (1993, 1994a, 1994b) pivotal yet dated research, 27 states in the United States and over 200 local jurisdictions have prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (Human Rights Campaign, 2010), and English and Welsh police agencies are now among some of the most gay-friendly employers (Stonewall, 2010).

Bernstein and Kostelac (2002) conducted a survey that examined the relationship between attitudes and behaviours towards lesbian and gay sworn officers¹⁶, illustrating heterosexist attitudes within American law enforcement. This study surveyed 222 officers belonging to a medium-sized police department in the south-west. Bernstein and Kostelac (2002) found that unmarried males discriminate more frequently against and have more negative attitudes towards non-heterosexuals than married males. Bernstein and Kostelac (2002) theorised that single officers view that they face more of a possibility of being labelled LGB than their married counterparts. This same study found that heterosexual women in law enforcement held a more positive view towards lesbians, due to the possibility of their direct experiences in workplace gender discrimination (Bernstein and Kostelac, 2002). The same survey showed that 30% to 40% of straight sworn officers indicated that gays and lesbians would not be treated the same or would not be taken as seriously as heterosexuals in the criminal justice system (Bernstein and Kostelac, 2002). Additionally, 69% of police respondents disclosed that LGB officers do not belong in law enforcement, and 85% reported that gay men would not be able to perform their job as well as others (Bernstein and Kostelac, 2002).

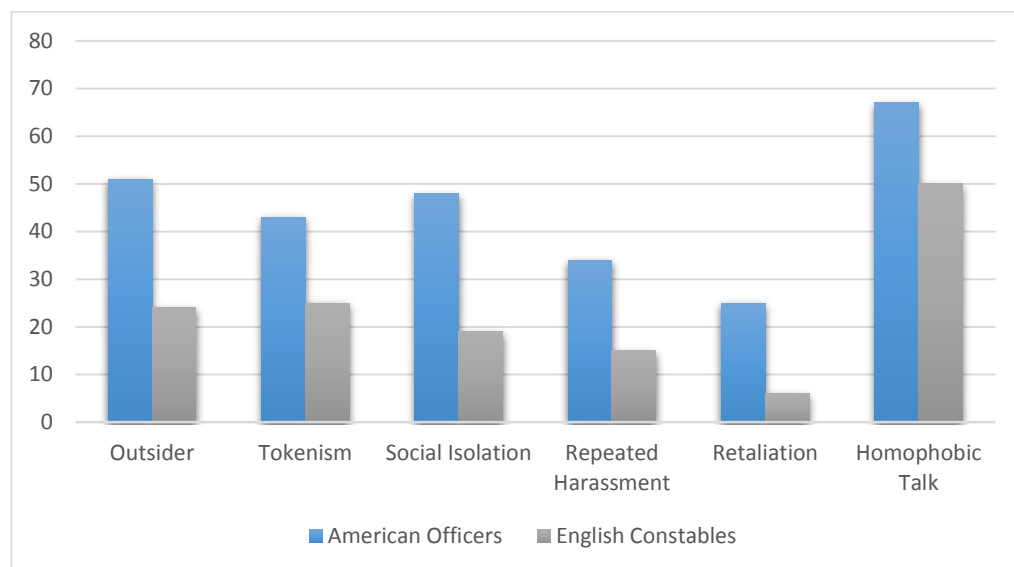
Miller, Forest and Jurik (2003) conducted a study of how gay and lesbian officers construct their identities within a traditionally masculine, heterosexually dominated police organisational environment in the United States. This study addressed gay and lesbian officers' perceptions of their work environment in a Midwestern city. Miller, Forest and Jurik (2003) found that gay and lesbian officers sensed patterns of social exclusion as well as overt sexist and anti-gay behaviour within the police organisation. Every officer in the sample of this study stated that they had heard or been the target of anti-gay or lesbian jokes or derogatory slang (Miller, Forest and Jurik, 2003). Additionally, Miller, Forest and Jurik (2003) contended that police heterosexism has created a hostile environment towards gay men and lesbians, with police ignoring and sometimes even contributing to violence perpetrated against LGB individuals. This coincides with Herek's (1989) and Berrill's (1992) previous findings with regard to police officers themselves perpetrating violence against LGB populations.

Recent research on the experiences of gay and lesbian police officers has been completed by Roddick Colvin (2012) in his qualitative and quantitative examination of LGB police

¹⁶ Sworn officers are officers who are given the power to arrest and have completed the mandatory training.

officers in Washington DC (America) and within Hampshire and Wiltshire constabularies (England). Colvin (2012) found that LGB officers in America (71% of 66 respondents) and England (72% of 243 respondents) reported that they had good relationships with non-LGB co-workers, supervisors and subordinates. While this suggests an overall friendly and inclusive police cultural environment, Colvin (2012) found reported LGB discrimination in promotion, assignments and evaluations in American and English police agencies. When Colvin (2012) examined attitudinal barriers, 67% of American officers and 50% of English constables reported homophobic attitudes as the most frequently faced attitudinal barrier. Besides homophobic comments, being treated like an outsider, feeling social isolation, tokenism (being selected as the single minority to stave off claims of discrimination), repeated LGB harassment and retaliation were additional complaints LGB officers reported when attitudinal barriers were examined.

Figure 2.2 Differential Treatment of LGB Police (Colvin, 2012)



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While Colvin's (2012) research has provided a current perspective on the extent of heterosexism within law enforcement from the perspective of lesbian and gay officers, there has been a lack of research on the actual dimensions of genderism. Notably, my research, unlike Colvin's (2012) work, specifically examines trans identities, which have been empirically neglected by previous researchers (see: Buhrke, 1996; Burke, 1993, 1994a, 1994b; Colvin, 2012; Jones and Williams, 2013).

More recently, Jones and Williams (2013) surveyed 836 police officers in England and Wales across 43 forces and measured three areas of employment: training, deployment and promotion. Jones and Williams' (2013) survey also asked respondents to identify personal characteristics, which included their sexual orientation, rank, ethnicity and membership of LGB employment groups. They found that gay men reported more

¹⁷ Adapted from Colvin (2012); American respondents (n=66) and English respondents (n=243).

incidents of discrimination in training, deployment and promotion than lesbian and bisexual officers.

Figure 2.3 Prevalence of Discrimination amongst LGB Police (Jones and Williams, 2013)

	Discrimination in Training	Discrimination in Deployment	Discrimination in Promotion
Gay male officers	11%	13.5%	6.9%
Gay female officers	8.2%	10.6%	3.2%
Bisexual male officers	5.1%	3.8%	1.3%
Bisexual female officers	1.7%	0.0%	1.7%

¹⁸

Additionally, they found that officers from large and small departments who identify as LGB were more likely to experience discrimination in training and in deployment than LGB officers from medium-sized departments. Overall, one-fifth of self-identified LGB police officers in England and Wales reported some type of discrimination within policing (Jones and Williams, 2013). This recent study is beneficial, as social advances have been made since earlier research, with anti-discrimination laws, equal benefits ordinances and legalised same-sex marriages (see: Weeks, 2007).

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined relevant terms and previous studies on homophobia, heterosexism and heteronormativity, previous studies on anti-LGBT+ verbiage, and previous studies on non-police LGBT+ populations. The scant research on LGBT+ police officers was also explored. Additionally, this chapter examined how previous studies have claimed that heterosexism can be linked to adherence to traditional and rigid social constructions of gender. The purpose of exploring these issues is to build partial theoretical foundations and consider the ontological issues relevant to this research. As illustrated by previous studies on heterosexism within police culture and how LGB communities perceive the

¹⁸ Adapted from Jones and Williams (2013).

police, there are indications that some police or certain police cultures possess heterosexist views towards LGB identities (see: Buhrke, 1996; Burke, 1993, 1994a, 1994b; Colvin, 2009; and Jones and Williams, 2013) and heterosexist/ genderist attitudes towards transgender identities (see: Grant et al., 2011).

Therefore, arguably there is a socialised connection between gender and sexuality when exploring heterosexism; I believe it would be naive to assume that only LGB identities face components of homophobia, heterosexism and heteronormativity. Additionally, transgender officers who are negotiating police culture may, like their LGB counterparts, be susceptible to anti-homosexual sentiments¹⁹. While some LGB experiences and perceptions are similarly aligned with trans experiences and perceptions, notable differences exist between the LGB and the trans communities, which will be explored separately in chapters two and three.

¹⁹ This will be explored in Chapters Six and Seven.

Chapter Three

Transgender Concepts, Genderism and Masculinity Influences within Police Culture

Often people do not see much difference between someone who is a transvestite, transgender or transsexual and will use these terms interchangeably (Rizzo, 2006). Therefore, it is imperative to better understand trans-specific terminology before any empirical findings are explored to improve conceptual understanding of this research. Much like previous social science research of LGB identities, there is also terminological confusion when examining trans identities. As previously stated, using terminological sensitivity when examining LGBT+ bias is critical, because vocabulary often tends to restrict theoretical understandings when exploring marginalised groups. As such, this chapter will examine and explore key concepts, theories and previous research connected to those who are typically categorised under the transgender grouping to aid in the formation of theoretical concepts.

3.1 Conceptualising Transgender Identities

Under the transgender grouping there exist different transgender identities. These identities include transsexuals, intersex individuals, gender variant identities and cross-dressers. Some sociologists contend that there is terminological confusion in relation to what gender expression identities should be under this transgender assemblage. Whittle (2000) provided a useful explanation of how the word transgender is an encompassing term:

...transgender is an umbrella term used to define a political and social community which is inclusive of transsexual people, transgender people, cross-dressers (transvestites), and other groups of “gender variant” people such as drag queens and kings, butch lesbians, and “mannish” or “passing” women. “Transgender” has also been used to refer to all persons who express gender in ways not traditionally associated with their sex. Similarly, it has also been used to refer to all persons who express gender in non-traditional ways, but continue to identify as the sex of their birth (p. 65).

As Whittle (2000) illustrates, a queer sociological framework of the word transgender is beneficial to understanding gender diversity. Therefore, this section will explore the differences between transsexuals, intersex identities, gender variants and cross-dressers to conceptualise the identities of the research participants.

Theoretically, Prosser (1995, 1998) differentiated transsexuals as individuals who search for a gendered ‘home’ versus gender variant individuals who live on the ‘borderlands’ between genders under a transgender assemblage. Prosser (1995, 1998) and Rubin (1996) argued that a distinction should be made between subjective experiences of gender variant identities under the assemblage of ‘transgender’ and transsexuals in order to avoid the “universalizing of trans” (Prosser, 1998, p. 201). Therefore, these sections explore

essentialist categories separately, not in an effort to imply that all transgender narratives are alike, but instead to highlight that those different members of the transgender community experience similar reported incidents of transgender bias within police culture itself. Notably, much like Halberstam (1998), these sections of essentialist categories are not used to argue as to what constitutes a ‘real’ transgender identity; instead this research will be examining the politics of transgender mobility within policing, which was identified as specific to my participants.

3.1.1 Transsexuals

A transsexual individual can be defined as a male or female that, through biological or psychological factors, expresses a particular gender role and potentially wants biologic congruity with their gender preference (Kane-DeMaio, 2006). For an individual to be medically diagnosed as transsexual, three criteria must be met: (i) they must possess the desire to live and be accepted as a member of their adopted gender; (ii) this must typically be accompanied by the desire to make their body as congruent as possible with the preferred sex through surgery and hormone treatment; (iii) they must have the trans identity present for years; (iv) and the identity is not a system of a mental disorder or a chromosomal abnormality (Whittle, 2000). Transsexual identities are typically classified as FTM or MTF. Female-to-male (i.e. FTM, transman) is an individual who has transitioned or is in the process of transitioning to male, identifies as male and was previously assigned female at birth. Male-to-female (i.e. MTF, transwoman) is an individual who has transitioned or is in the process of transitioning to female, identifies as female and was previously assigned male at birth.

In accordance with other researchers (see: Erich et al., 2010; Gagne et al., 1997; and Law et al., 2011), in this research transsexuals will be identified as: those who have had gender reassignment surgery to change their biological sex to another, and/or those taking hormones and other medications to help transition their physical body from one sex to another. Notably, not all transsexuals will want to take hormones, and some may be unable to take hormones for medical reasons. Yet, transsexual identities are often connected to some form of surgical intervention (e.g. clitoroplasty, metoidioplasty, oophorectomy, orchidectomy, penectomy, phalloplasty, vaginoplasty, etc.²⁰). These medical and surgical interventions occur in the transsexual community because their assigned birth gender does not match their gender, and thus medical treatment is needed to make their bodies conform to the gender with which they identify. Arguably, because of stereotypical binary gender role ideology within society, transsexuals often feel the need to take every possible means to medically and socially conform to the gender role to which they feel they belong. Tragically, some transsexual identities are both societal

²⁰ See Appendix E for helpful definitions.

victims and societal perpetrators of socialised reinforced binary constructs of ‘male’ and ‘female’ gender, unlike other members of the transgender community²¹.

3.1.2 Intersex Identities

Besides transsexual identities, one transgender identity that is typically under-researched under the transgender assemblage are those who identify as intersex. Like transsexual identities, intersex individuals are also victims of socialised reinforced binary constructs. Yet, unlike transsexual identities, some intersex identities are forced to physically conform to a gender binary, sometimes without their consent. This typically occurs when the parents of an intersexed child force them to undergo medical procedures after birth or during childhood because they possess genitalia assigned to both sexes. In this type of scenario, although rare, parents choose which gender they believe their child will physically present their gender better than the later or their preferred sex of their child. Yet some intersex identities do not possess both biological genitalia, leaving some intersex individuals to make surgical and/or medical gender realignment decisions later on in life.

Typically, a chromosomal disorder is associated with individuals who are intersexed. It should be noted that intersex individuals, a phenomenon also known as sexual dimorphism, are also considered trans, but some view themselves as separate from transsexuals. Intersex individuals possess immediate or atypical combinations of physical features that usually distinguish male from female. This can include individuals who have non-XX or non-XY, Turner Syndrome, Klinefelter Syndrome, Kallmann Syndrome, Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome, Partial Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome, congenital adrenal hyperplasia, late onset congenital adrenal hyperplasia, vaginal agenesis, or Idiopathic Hypogonadotropic Hypogonadism (Blackless et al., 2000). It should be noted that the actual occurrence of an individual being born as intersex is roughly between 0.1% and 2% (Blackless et al., 2000) and they comprise a very small portion of the transgender population, hence why they are typically under-researched. Notably, I only secured one interview with an intersex officer, and this research will instead mainly focus on transsexual officers, transgender officers, gender variant individuals and cross-dresser officers, since the one intersexed officer I interviewed considered himself a transman despite his medical diagnosis of being intersexed.

3.1.3 Gender Variants

Gender variance is very different to transsexual identities, intersex identities and cross-dresser identities. Someone who identifies as gender variant is an individual who does not conform to the stereotypical male or female category assigned to them at birth. They identify as non-binary because their sex differentiation is inconsistent with the binary sex characteristics associated with the structure and working of their brain (Office of National Statistics, 2009), and thus they reject any social conformity to binary gender systems.

²¹ This is explored in detail in Chapter Seven, when I introduce my trans feminine subcultural hierarchy concept.

Gender variant identities can be distinguished typically into five unique categories. These are:

1. Both man and woman (i.e. androgyne);
2. neither man nor woman (i.e. agender, neutrois, non-gendered);
3. moving between two or more genders (i.e. gender fluid);
4. third gendered or other-gendered (includes those who prefer “genderqueer” or “non-binary” to describe their gender without labelling it otherwise);
5. having an overlap or blur of gender and orientation and/or sex (i.e. girlfags and guydykes)²² (Stringer, 2009).

Notably, gender variant participants of this research either were biologically assigned female, had their breast removed and had an androgynous type of haircut, or were biologically assigned male, took HRT to grow their breast and had an androgynous type of haircut. Notably, participants who identified as genderqueer chose not to take higher levels of HRT²³ to lose muscle mass or have noticeable changes in their voice depth. Instead they took HRT to present themselves in an androgynous way. Notably, some gender variant individuals may choose not to undergo any medical treatment at all, but my genderqueer participants disclosed that they underwent medical procedures²⁴.

3.3.4 Cross-Dressers

Cross-dressers, known as transvestites²⁵ in the UK, dress for personal or sexual arousal in the clothing associated with the opposite gender than they were assigned at birth, and they typically have no desire to change or alter their biological sex (McBride and Hansson, 2010). The act of cross-dressing involves wearing clothing that is stereotypically associated with ‘males’ or ‘females’ (e.g. male cross-dressers wearing make-up, wigs, dresses and high heels). Often the act of cross-dressing is done in secret to avoid social rejection or social alienation.

One notable cross-dresser researcher, Blanchard (1989), examined why males engage in acts of transvestitism. Blanchard (1989) introduced his theory of autogynephilia to refer to “a male’s propensity to be sexually aroused by the thought of himself as a female” (p. 616). Blanchard (1989) theorised that cross-dressers develop an error in erotic target localisation, in other words they locate their erotic target (towards women) on themselves rather than on other people (Veale et al., 2010). Therefore, in the case of cross-dressers,

²² This is explored in chapter seven.

²³ HRT is hormone replacement therapy.

²⁴ See appendix E for additional helpful definitions.

²⁵ A transvestite is typically a culturally offensive word in America and is not socially accepted as a way to describe a cross-dresser, yet British participants used and embraced the term.

individuals become attracted to parts of the female body that the garment is worn over (female underwear and bras). Further, Blanchard (1989) stated that sexual arousal in cross-dressers may diminish or even disappear due to age, hormone treatment and genital surgery, and yet the desire to live as a woman does not diminish and often grows stronger. Notably, a significant number of transgender individuals have voiced disagreement with Blanchard's model because it was too narrow, and cross-dressers often do not want to change sex (see: Dreger, 2008; Lawrence, 2007; Veale et al., 2010).

Unlike Blanchard (1989), Garber (1992) described cross-dressers as a representative example of a 'category crisis', as they are "disrupting and calling attention to cultural, social, or aesthetic 'dissonances'" (p. 16). Therefore, Garber (1992) contended that cross-dressers challenge the notion of a fixed or coherent identity of perceptions of binary genders. The practice of cross-dressing therefore could be perceived as being a transgender practice that embraces gender as a deconstructive tool.

Countering Garber's arguments, Namaste (1996) stated that this theoretical critique of cross-dressers "reduced the transvestite to a mere tropological figure, a textual and rhetorical device" (p. 189). By doing so, Namaste (1996) argues that this critique "undermined the possibility of 'transvestite as a viable identity in and of itself'" (p. 189). Namaste's (1996) arguments are an illustrative example of deconstructive analyses within the realm of transgender theory, which has emerged and evolved sociologically.

Research from the United States estimates that 2% to 5% of males engage in frequent (e.g. clubs/private) cross-dressing (Reed et al., 2009). The American Psychological Association (2014) has reported that 2–3% of the cisgender male population occasionally engage in cross-dressing. In the UK, estimates are that 1 in 10 men have cross-dressed or will do so, which conflicts with any foregoing figures (Reed et al., 2009). Reed et al. (2009) estimate that 1% of the British cisgender male population (i.e. around 235,000 men) cross-dress. Notably, there are no studies on the prevalence of females who engage in cross-dressing. Females who cross-dress are either more difficult to detect or are more likely to not identify as a cross-dresser, because society typically socially accepts women who dress masculine but does not accept males who dress feminine.

Cross-dressers, unlike other transgender identities, have the desire to dress as the opposite binary sex because the clothing is associated with the opposite sex. For cross-dressers, wearing opposite-sex clothing is about the gender role that is assigned to particular garments. Some cross-dressers also have the desire to act out the mannerisms associated with the opposite sex. While cross-dressers could arguably possess degrees of gender dysphoria, it is not strong enough or consistent enough that they feel compelled to live full-time as the opposite sex. Therefore, cross-dressing is often seen as fetishist in nature and is often viewed as a part-time transgender activity (see: Blanchard et al., 1986; Langstrom and Zucker, 2011) that can be controlled at will, unlike other trans identities. Some theorists even go as far as saying that cross-dressers are not trans at all and cross-

dressing is not an identification, yet my research has indicated that some cross-dressers do identify as transgender and that the trans police community views them as transgender²⁶.

As with the cisgender population, there exist variations in the performance of masculinity and femininity within the cross-dressing world. Those who participate in 'high drag' make more serious attempts at dressing in opposite-sex attire than those who participate in 'low drag'. I observed this during my fieldwork, when cross-dressing officers would wear high heels, an elaborate hairdo (in the form of a wig), make-up and deemed feminine jewellery. As one participant told me:

We don't play around. When we dress in drag it is serious business; some of us can even 'pass' if we go out.

Comparatively, those who participate in 'low drag' may don make-up and accessories because they have learned rudimentary aspects of female impersonation as it is understood to a cisgender male.

Yet some types of cross-dressing activities are not fetishist in nature and can be undertaken out of other personal desires, like for performance reasons (e.g. drag queens, drag kings, female impersonator, male impersonator, etc.). Often those in cross-dressing performance roles are stigmatised into fundamental and inseparable parts, show business and homosexuality (Newton, 1998). Newton (1998) argued that female impersonators are a choice status in "the deviant career of the homosexual in the homosexual community, or the status is one of those offered by the community" (p. 44). The perceived relationship between homosexuality and binary sex ideology is complicated. Therefore, it is critical to examine in more detail gender role ideology and how genderism is constructed.

3.2 Genderism

From the moment we are born, we are socialised to conform or adapt to binary gender roles that exist within society. Often this binary socialisation begins during infancy, and at times during pregnancy. For example, we associate baby girls with the colour pink and boys with the colour blue, and often nurseries are painted in the baby's respective colours. Or, girls are told to play with certain toys because they are girls' toys, while boys are told to play with others. In other words, gender socialisation is the process of how we are taught to socially conform or socially behave in accordance with societal expectations of our assigned biological gender. Thus, almost all humans are socially institutionalised to be genderist in nature, unlike components of heterosexism²⁷.

Genderism, not to be confused with transphobia, is the incorporating of binary beliefs that there are, or should be, only two biological genders that comprise males and females. This binary bias concept can consist of perceptions based on visual representation,

²⁶ This is explored in Chapter Seven.

²⁷ See previous chapter.

psychological representation and emotional representation that stereotypically rest within the binary constraints of what an individual identifies as a 'male' and/or a 'female'. Much like heterosexism, how cultural belief systems perceive what being a 'man' or a 'woman' means can perpetuate and encourage biases which uphold transitional gender role ideologies. Notably, these perceptions, which constitute as 'male' and/or 'female', are products of gender socialisation and social gender conformism.

In contrast, transphobia is an emotional phobia – meaning, essentially, fear and avoidance – of those who identify as transgender (Hill and Willoughby, 2005). Comparatively, genderism is the broad ideology that encompasses and reinforces the negative evaluation of gender nonconformity (Hill and Willoughby, 2005). For the purposes of this research, genderism will also be used to describe the bias that individuals have towards those individuals who identify as transgender, transsexual, gender variant and cross-dressers. Genderism is a cultural belief that perpetuates negative feelings, judgments and biases about people who do not conform to sociocultural and stereotypical assumptions of 'male' identities and 'female' identities. Therefore, genderism, like heterosexism, is a series of internalised beliefs or externalised beliefs and should not be imposed on any members of the transgender community. As such, genderism is a source of social oppression and psychological shame that is dissimilar but slightly analogous to heterosexist experiences of individuals who identify as LGB. Further, it is possible, if not highly probable, for a trans-identified individual to experience both heterosexism and genderism at the same time due to both biases having a reliance upon concepts of gender ideology.

It could be argued that negative workplace experiences for transgender police officers occur due to an extreme manifestation of the dominant cultural values of genderism. Therefore, collective expression of both gender role ideology and cultural genderism within policing can impact the amount of displayed trans biases within occupational cultures. Just like the manifestation of homophobia, transphobia can manifest on a gradual scale. Unlike homophobia, genderism itself is cohesively the system and ideology that builds the foundation of transphobia. Without genderism, transphobia arguably cannot manifest in an individual. It should be noted that stereotypical perceived binary gender norms, embraced by the term genderism within this research, are the foundation of all anti-trans discrimination (Serano, 2007).

Some researchers have suggested that non-binary gender nonconformity in outward traits such as voice, movement and appearance occurs frequently within the LGB population and could in theory be perceived as transgender in nature (Ambaby, Hallahan and Conner, 1999; Bailey, 2003) due to social reliance upon traditional gender role ideologies. Previous studies have documented that the LGB community are more likely to experience childhood gender nonconformity than their heterosexual-identified counterparts (Bailey and Zucker, 1995). Further, previous research has theorised that some gay men defeminise as they reach adulthood in reaction to persistent social pressure (Bell, Weinberg and Hammersmith, 1981; Harry, 1983a, 1983b; Landolt, Bartholomez, Saffrey,

Oram and Perlman, 2004; Taywaditep, 2001). Notably, it could be argued that lesbians who identify or are perceived as ‘masculine’ or ‘butch’ add to extraneous confusion on non-binary gender conformity by being perceived as rejecting stereotypical assumptions of femininity. As such, some ‘butch’ or ‘masculine’ lesbians are often socially adopted into the transgender community by those who identify as trans²⁸. This gender nonconformity can blur the line between what a perceived member of the LGB community is and what can be constituted as transgender. This potential blurring of gender nonconformity makes the connection between sexual orientation and gender nonconformity extraneous for some outside observers, specifically those who are not LGBT+ identified.

In addition, research has suggested that a negative heterosexual attitude towards gender nonconformity impacts the expectation that lesbians are masculine and gay men are feminine (Haddock, Zanna and Esses, 1993; Kite and Deaux, 1987; Madon, 1997; Martin, 1990). Arguably, this can influence and conflict with the highly masculinised gender perceptions within policing in relationship to masculinity. It should be noted that gender nonconformity in men may be interpreted as a sign of weakness within society (Haddock and Zanna, 1998; Theodore and Basow, 2000; Tomsen, 2002) and potentially within police culture itself (Buhrke, 1996; Burke, 1993, 1994; Colvin, 2009, 2012). As such, the ultimate visually perceived sign of binary gender nonconformity arguably resides with those individuals who are transitioning from male to female or to a lesser extent female to male.

Besides the negative attitudes some heterosexuals possess towards binary gender nonconformity, some research has suggested that LGB individuals themselves have negative attitudes towards transgender individuals (see: Skidmore, Linsenmeier and Bailey, 2006; Bailey et al., 1997; Bell and Weinberg, 1978; Laner, 1978; Laner and Kamel, 1977; Laner and Laner, 1979; Laner and Laner, 1980). Further, Bailey et al. (1997) and Taywaditep (2001) found that negative opinions and attitudes within lesbian and gay communities may contribute to additional problems for non-binary gender conforming individuals. Therefore, for research purposes, I collectively analysed LGB cisgender participants with heterosexual cisgender participants to explore if LGB police officers and constables express any negative attitudes towards transgender individuals as previous research has indicated²⁹.

²⁸ This concept is explored in Chapter Four and Appendix C, describing how it added to my research by increasing participation rates.

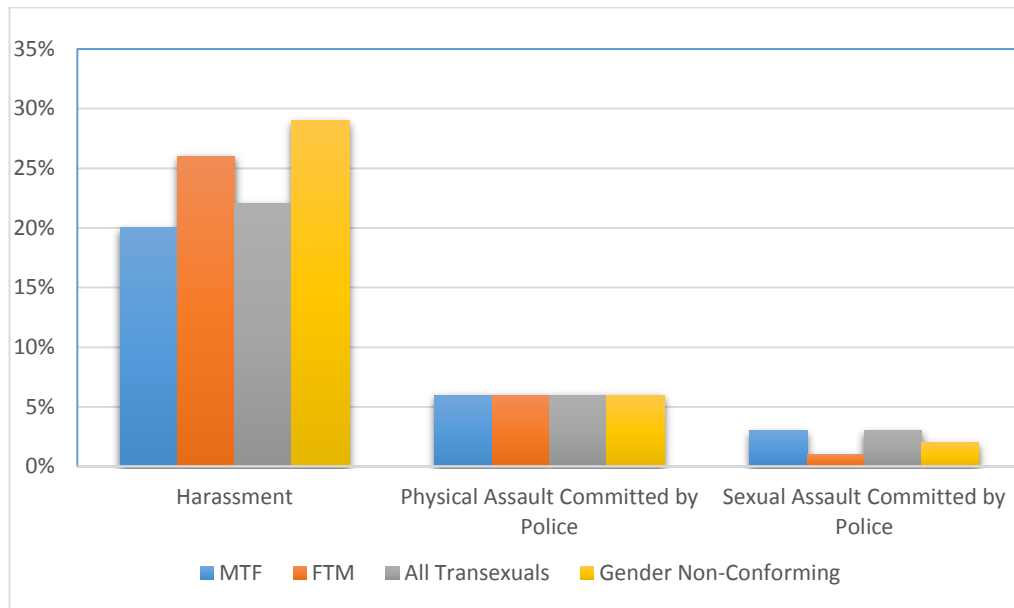
²⁹ See Chapter Five.

3.3 Existing Studies of Genderism in the United States, England and Wales

Previous research from America and the United Kingdom has documented different forms of discrimination, prejudice, bias and violence against trans individuals (see: Clements-Nolle et al., 2006; Gagne et al., 1997; Grant et al., 2011; Grossman and D'Augelli, 2006; Hill, 2002; McNeil et al., 2012; Tee and Hegarty, 2006; Witten and Eyler, 1999). Lombardi et al. (2001) found that 60% of transgender individuals in the United States had experienced some form of occupational harassment, and Reback et al. (2001) found that half of their sample reported employment discrimination, with 30% being fired from a job for being transgender. A San Francisco study found that approximately 80% of transgender individuals experienced verbal harassment, and 50% experienced job discrimination in their occupational environments (Clements, 1999).

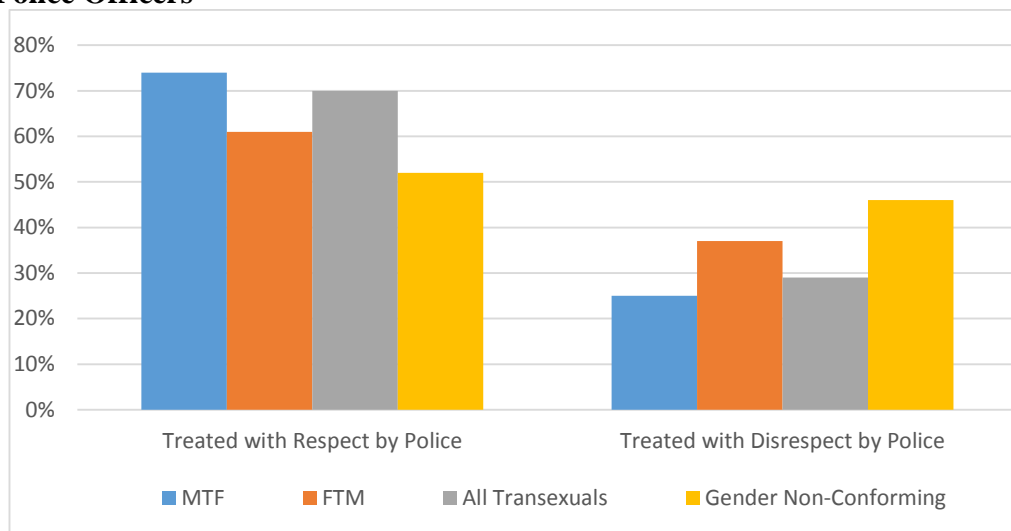
A recent study conducted for the National Center for Transgender Equality by Grant et al. (2011) researched 6,450 individuals who identified as being transgender. One of the key findings of this large body of research conducted in the United States was that one-fifth (22%) of respondents who had interacted with the police reported harassment by police due to bias, with 6% reporting physical assault and 2% reporting sexual assault by police officers because they were transgender or gender nonconforming (Grant et al., 2011). It should be noted that FTM-identified individuals reported more police incidents of harassment than MTF-identified individuals, yet complaints of sexual assault perpetrated by the police against MTF were higher than those against FTM (Grant et al., 2011). See the following illustrative charts for an analysis of Grant et al.'s (2011) key findings:

Figure 3.1: Grant et al. (2011) – Trans Reported Harassment and Assault Perpetrated by Police Officers



Another key finding of this research was that FTMs reported higher levels of perceived disrespect than their MTF counterparts, with gender nonconforming individuals reporting the highest amount of perceived police disrespect (Grant et al., 2011):

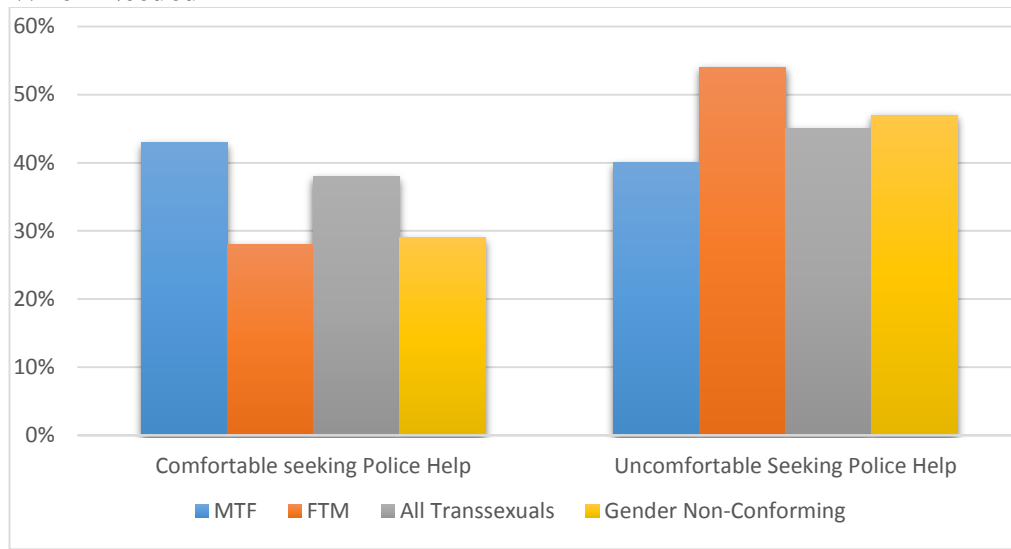
Figure 3.2: Grant et al. (2011) – Trans Reported Opinions on Interactions with Police Officers



Further, it appeared that police harassment and assault had an apparent deterrent effect on respondents' willingness to ask for help from law enforcement, with 46% reporting that they are uncomfortable seeking help from the police (Grant et al., 2011). Like, Grant et al. (2011), Nemoto et al. (2011) found that out of 573 MTF participants, more than two-thirds reported that they have ridiculed or embarrassed by American police because of their transgender identity or expression.

When examining research on the denial of police services, Grant et al. (2011) disclosed that 20% of participants reported that they were denied of equal service by police compared to their cisgender counterparts, with FTM and gender nonconforming individuals reporting higher rates of police harassment than their MTF and transgender counterparts (Grant et al., 2011). Notably, variations exist in the comfort levels in seeking police help within the trans sample of Grant et al. (2011) study:

Figure 3.3: Grant et al. (2011) – Trans Comfort Levels in Seeking Police Assistance When Needed



The most current American study on transgender individuals analysed data from over 6,456 transgender and gender nonconforming individuals, which is the largest study to date with the largest sample size (Harrison-Quintana and Herman, 2012). Harrison-Quintana and Herman (2012) found that 27% of the sample reported being harassed by the police due to anti-trans bias, with 16% specifically claiming their interactions also included negative experiences while being put in jail or prison. Additionally, 68% MTF and 9% FTM, 54% reported anti-trans bias at work, with 9% reporting physical violence and 8% reporting sexual violence at work due to anti-trans bias (Harrison-Quintana and Herman, 2012).

As previously mentioned, transgender identities are wary of police interaction due to the potential for victimisation or re-victimisation by police (Grant et al., 2011; Stotzer, 2009; Xavier et al., 2007). For example, since transgender individuals may be forced into work in an illegal economic environment, it can increase a transgender person's chances of negative interactions with the police (Grant et al., 2011). Further, Stotzer (2013) found that transgender people in Hawaii reported higher percentages of being arrested (39% MTF and 47% FTM) than cisgender lesbian/bisexual women (14%) and cisgender gay/bisexual men (19%). Looking at American studies, data suggests that transgender people face more victimisation at the hands of the police (Grant et al., 2011), more arrests than LGB cisgender individuals (Stotzer, 2013), more reports of police harassment (Grant

et al., 2011) and more bias incidents at work than cisgender LGB individuals (Harrison-Quintana and Herman, 2012).

When examining research of the genderqueer community specifically, data suggests that they face rates of discrimination and violence that are similar to, if not higher than, transsexuals within America. Harrison et al. (2012) found that genderqueer identities face more physical assaults (32% compared to 25%), police harassment (31% compared to 21%) and unemployment (76% compared to 56%) than transsexual identities.

In comparison, there is minimal research that examines police harassment and discrimination against transgender and gender nonconforming individuals in England and Wales. One notable body of European research that offers some evidence of the extent of officer interactions with transgender individuals was conducted by the Scottish Transgender Alliance. McNeil et al. (2012) surveyed 889 Scottish transgender-identified individuals for the Trans Mental Health Study (the largest trans survey in Europe) and discovered that out of 665 respondents, 14% had reported some form of police harassment for being transgender, with 34% worried about potential future police harassment (McNeil et al., 2012).

3.4 Prior Research on Transgender Police Officers and Genderism

The only existing study to date of transgender identities within law enforcement was included in a very brief collective report of LGBT+ identities. Notably, this study examined all types of personnel within law enforcement, which includes correction officers, federal agents, local policing, federal policing and probation officers. Sears et al. (2013) found that out of 60 transgender law enforcement personnel, 90% reported negative experiences within their departments. Of those who reported negative experiences, 15% reported that they were terminated, 37% reported being threatened with termination, 68% reported heterosexist and genderist verbal attacks, 18% reported physical attacks from colleagues, and 53% felt that their safety was jeopardised due to social isolation from their peers within policing (Sears et al., 2013). Sears et al. (2013) theorised that because transgender identities are underrepresented within law enforcement, reports of discrimination are more frequent. Further, Sears et al. (2013) contended that discrimination likely reduces the overall diversity amongst law enforcement personnel, which in turn can create additional barriers between the LGBT+ community and law enforcement agencies (Sears et al., 2013).

3.5 Current Failures of Queer Criminology: Why Transgender Identities Should Be Included in LGBT+ Police Research

Groombridge's (1999) *Perverse Criminologies: The Closet of Doctor Lombroso* points out that there is an empirical neglect of relationships between (homo)sexuality and policing. Despite the introduction of the 'queer criminology' movement that Groombridge (1999) calls for, there still appears to be an empirical neglect of relationships between (trans)sexuality and policing. Previous criminological researchers

have notably explored LGB identities within policing (see: Buhrke, 1996; Burke, 1993, 1994a, 1994b; Colvin, 2009, 2012; and Jones and Williams, 2013), yet transgender identities have been neglected in criminology. Additionally, sociologists (see: Hines, 2006; MacDonald, 1998; Namaste, 1996; Prosser, 1995, 1998; Rubin, 1996; and Wilson, 2002) have argued that queer studies have fundamentally neglected transgender identities within the social sciences. Much like sociological queer research, within the realm of 'queer criminology' there are perceived research divisions between LGB identities and transgender identities. Yet this research advocates for the inclusion of transgender identities within criminological and sociological research, placing both LGB and transgender identities within this modern 'queer criminology' movement.

Notably, there is a difference between one's sexual orientation (to whom one is sexually/emotionally/romantically attracted) and one's gender identity (how one identifies to one's own gender and how one identifies as man, woman, transgender, etc.), yet there is an intricate link between LGBT+ individuals collectively (Wilchins, 2004). Previous research has indicated that most transgender individuals also identify as LGB or previously identified as LGB. For example, the Transgender American Veterans Association and the University of California's Palm Center explored the experiences of transgender veterans while in and out of the United States military. Of those surveyed, 64% identified as MTF, with 38% identifying their sexual orientation as heterosexual, while the remaining 62% identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual or another sexual identity (Bryant, Karl and Schilt, 2008).

Additionally, during the early stages of this research I discovered that transgender members could not be so easily isolated from the LGB population due to the similarity of the respective biases they battle. There also exist theoretical similarities between LGB identities and transgender police identities which make them difficult to separate at times. Several members of the transgender police community interviewed during my fieldwork stated that members of the LGB police community, at times, face a similar plight to their experiences of 'coming out', and hence should also be included under 'queer criminology'³⁰. Therefore, LGB theoretical contributions will be examined contextually in the following chapters, which illustrate why transgender identities should be included within police research and queer criminology.

To explore the concept of transgender identities and biases further, cisgender biases within policing, how biases exist and how biases are expressed towards fellow transgender colleagues will also be examined³¹. This answers Groombridge's (1999) call for new empirical contributions to the field of 'queer criminology'. Additionally, personal transgender experiences mixed with police communal socialisation experiences will be explored³². I will not be extensively arguing for the feminist philosophical stance on

³⁰ This is explored in Chapter Six.

³¹ This is explored in Chapter Five.

³² See Chapter Six.

transsexuality in terms of identity which gender construction is; instead I will be documenting the experiences and opinions of officers who identify as transgender in a hypermasculine environment and how they perceive they perform femininity/masculinity.

Further, conceptualising transgender police experiences in respect to the subjective and embodied experiences of gender differences is more explanatory in understanding the differences between heterosexism and genderism within policing. This process will involve a critique of the deconstruction of gender only in respect to analysing gender diversity in relationship to 'coming out', 'hiding in the closet', articulating gender diversity within policing and accounting for significant moments of transgender experiences within police culture. The arguments of historical theories surrounding gender, sex and identity are unfortunately beyond the scope of this research. Instead, previous general concepts of sexuality and masculinity viewed through criminological, sociological and social psychological lenses will be used to better explore how socialised perceptions of gender and sexuality affect officer opinions and perceptions. This is why this research is important to sociologists and criminologists alike in respect to police culture.

3.6 Conceptual Underpinnings of Gender Construction

In order to better understand how gender ideologies exist in policing, theories of gender and sexuality should be explored at length to better grasp sociological perceptions of sexuality and gender. Therefore, this section examines theoretical concepts of gender and sexuality while exploring how current transgender theory has evolved. Current sociological queer theorists position gender and sexual identities as fluid and non-affirmative (Hines, 2007). Queer theorists, in contrast to most feminist theorists, embrace differences and have argued against the representation of identity categories as authentic; this represents a great departure from previous concepts of essentialist tendencies within feminism (Hines, 2007). Unfortunately, queer theorists have presented a dilemma in how to construct identity categories and account for their differences, while examining the subjective experiences that establish variance (Hines, 2007). This dilemma has led to current transgender theories and research debates within LGBT+ research realms. Serano (2007) notably stated that "social scientists generally argue that transsexuality is the result of societal gender norms, lesbian and gay scholars claim it is the result of heterosexism, feminists blame it on patriarchy, and poststructuralists simply deconstruct it into nonexistence" (p. 155).

One cannot discuss transgender theory with exploring the influence feminist philosopher Judith Butler had upon current transgender theories. Butler (1990) argued that a philosophical paradigm involving the binary categories of sex and gender are too socially restrictive for feminist understandings of transsexuality and conflict with sociological perceptions of "heterogender" (Butler, 1997). Butler (1997) further stated that gender must be produced by the body and exist as an unchangeable identity to maintain the order

of heterosexuality (i.e. “heterogender”). Therefore, the interweaving concepts of heterosexuality, heteronormativity and the performance of gender are fundamental in Butler’s (1990, 1997) theories.

Controversially, Butler’s ideas on the social performance of gender can be theoretically beneficial for conceptualising how some people enact gendered behaviours and how people perceive the gendered behaviours of others. Butler (1990) stated in her theory of performativity that the concept of sex relates to biological male or female body constructs, and gender refers to the social meaning of such bodies. Further, Butler’s *Gender Trouble* (1990) described how cross-dressing could emphatically elucidate the meaning of gender performativity and that all gender is performative.

Butler (1990) used male-bodied individuals who performed femininity as an example of a theoretical analysis of gender performativity which replicated traditional patriarchal norms. Butler, who notably adopted Foucault’s ‘genealogical analysis’ (1977, p. 142) binary concept of ‘sex’ and ‘gender’, theorised that transgender individuals, butch lesbians, drag kings and drag queens do not become empirical examples of gender performativity illustrating the inessentiality of sex and the non-originality of heterosexuality (Prosser, 2006). Butler (1990) notably used examples of drag and cross-dressing to demonstrate her theory on gender play, in which gender rules were compulsively and frequently acted out to reinforce naturality (Hines, 2006). These acts of ‘gender trouble’, as Butler (1990) described them, showed how the naturalisation of gender may be challenged.

It was not until Butler’s more recent work *Undoing Gender* (2004) that she specifically wrote at length about transsexuality, specifically while addressing how heteronormativity itself influences anti-trans violence. To sum up Butler’s more recent work, she describes the human body as a container for an inner gendered self which is culturally established, thus reinforcing the argument that gender is constructed socially (Butler, 2004). Butler’s (2004) argument notably focuses on the “subversion of identity” and has led to debates in respect to what extent gender variant individuals (who do not conform to binaries) should be included under sociological queer theory. While Butler has powerful theoretical claims about human autonomy, it must be understood that there exists a greater range of masculinities and femininities which are unfixed to binary concepts of the sexed body. In other words, masculinity and femininity are not owned by any gendered body; instead, they are governed by socialised gender ideologies³³. This governance by socialised gender ideologies was founded upon ethnomethodological theories of gender (see: Garfinkel, 1967; West and Zimmerman, 1987) that social interactions creates mechanisms that maintain that a gender system is visible (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009).

Serano (2007) argued that despite the social constraints of binary gender expectations and social gender conformity, there exists a subconscious sex that occurs in all of us,

³³ This will be revisited in section 4.3.

regardless of our biological gender signifiers. Serano (2007) describes this concept of a subconscious sex within transgender populations as existing as a battle between a person's subconscious sex and a person's presentation of gender, thus leading to conflict when examining gender identification. There exist problematic divisions between how gender is socially viewed and what the actual definition of 'gender identity' is: there exists a gender that we choose to identify as, and a gender that we subconsciously feel ourselves to be (Serano, 2007). Understanding and focusing on the concept of a subconscious sex that is separate from an individual's gender identity allows for the examination of how the subconscious sex can manifest into the acceptance and existence of transsexualism (Serano, 2007). For most individuals, particularly cisgender individuals, this subconscious sex corresponds to their gender presentation without having questions about their subconscious sex, but for others their subconscious sex does not relate to their biological sex or their sex presentation; this can lead to gender conflict, or gender dysphoria³⁴.

Stryker (2004) referred to transsexualism as the 'evil twin' in sociological queer theories, which has led to research divisions within sociological transgender theories. Previously, this research division was typically divided into experiences within the transgender community versus personal transgender experiences, which were further broken down into modalities of pathways of normalisation. Whittle (2000) stated that there has been "a huge paradigmatic shift" (p. 8) in respect to the field of transgender studies with the pathways of normalisation and how they are regarded in academic research. Sandy Stone's *The Empire Strikes Back: A Post-Transsexual Manifesto* (1991) could be viewed as a research catalyst for change in the legitimisation of the autobiographical accounts in respect to sociological transgender theory. Stone suggested that transsexuals are not a third gender, but a genre, "a set of embodied texts" (1991, p. 296), which disrupts typical heteronormativity in respect to categories of sexuality and gender.

Worthy of mention due to its sociological significance is Feinberg's (1993) *Stone Butch Blues*, a novel which played an important, informative role in the examination of genderqueer identities and social constructivism. In this novel, Jess, the main character, moves from the category of butch (in butch-femme lesbian subculture) to the category transsexual, and then recognises that transition from female to male is likewise unfulfilling (Feinberg, 1993). Jess then self-identifies as occupying a middle ground, identifying simply as a 'he-she'. Feinberg's (1993) work has notably drawn attention to the genderqueer movement, yet there is still a neglect of empirical examinations of genderqueer identities within the social sciences.

³⁴ In relationship to the concept of a subconscious sex and trans experiences, most transgender identities, specifically transsexuals, state that their subconscious sex is innate and cannot be changed at will, as this research discovered in its introductory phases. Most transsexuals in policing indicated that they need to medically transition, and it is something that they cannot escape nor suppress; therefore, it is involuntary, yet natural in nature. Additionally, gender variant individuals, like transsexuals, have a continuous desire to identify full-time outside of socialised gender binary constructs.

3.7 Poststructuralist Approaches to Identity and Symbolic Interactionism

Goffman repeatedly scorned any affiliation with symbolic interaction, often claiming to be a Durkeimian structuralist instead (Scheff, 2005). Yet his work in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* is somewhat revealing. Goffman (1959), through dramaturgical metaphor (stage, zoning, front and back regions, masquerade, etc.), argued that interaction as an engagement between individual(s) and audience(s), to whom individuals perform and who, in turn, interpret their actions. For Goffman:

...the self [is] a performed character... not an organic thing that has specific location ... [the performer and] his body merely provide the peg on which something of a collaborative manufacture will be hung for a time (1959, p. 252- 253).

Thus behind Goffman's analyses of interaction lies an active, prior, conscious, and performing self. However further along in his work (namely chapters four through six), Goffman moves away from a structuralist stance to a more symbolic interactionist stance when he examines the motives of the actors (Scheff, 2005). In *The Presentation of Everyday Life* (1959) it is apparent that Goffman was quite conscious of the significance of the body to identity, social order, and emotional order in respect experiences of embodiment. As Goffman stated:

In our society the character one performs and one's self are somewhat equated and this self-as-character is usually seen as something housed within the body of the possessor...I suggest that this view is...a bad analysis...While this image is entertained *concerning* the individual...this [body] itself does not derive from its possessor, but from the whole scene of his action, being generated by that attribute of local events which renders them interpretable by witnesses. A correctly staged and preformed scene leads the audience too impute a [body] to a performed character, but this imputation-this [body]- is a *product* of a scene that comes off, and is not a *cause* of it. The [body], then as a performed character, is not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is to be born to mature, and to die; it is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented, and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited (1959: p. 252-253).

Here, Goffman (1959) stresses that the body is essentially fashioned, moulded, and manipulated in ritualized social and cultural contracts. In simplest terms, Goffman (1959) is stating that the body is something that people do and there exists an active process by which the body is realised and made meaningful (embodiment). Therefore, the body is "...systematically produced, sustained, and presented in everyday life...which is realized and actualized through a variety of social regulated activities or practices" (Turner, 1984: p. 24).

Therefore, I am aware of the pragmatic tradition of symbolic interactions: people who merely 'have' a body actively 'do' a body. While both Goffman and Butler may appear at odds in their notions of gender performativity (i.e. Butler (1990) with her arguably symbolic interactionist³⁵ reinvention of the concept of performativity and Goffman (1959) with gender deconstruction consisting of moments of attribution and iteration in a social process of "doing" masculinity and femininity in a performative interval), both describe social presentation as fundamentally dramaturgical. Notably while gender may, or may not, be performative in nature during different intervals of social interactions, I would contend with both Butler and Goffman that there are valid arguments that some individuals conform to socialised gender expectations.

While I do not subscribe to the notion that every aspect of gender performativity is a theoretical performance and being transgender is syllogistically subversive, I agree (much like Butler and Goffman) with some components of dramaturgistic thinking. First, embodied gender is sometimes expressed socially in ways which is similarly expressed by others during social interactions (Brissett and Edley, 2005). Therefore, gender is not simply constructed but radically influenced by contingent aspects of society itself. Second, dramaturgy entails a complex system of understanding founded on how social order is sustained in dramatic body-rituals which are socially bound and imposed by moral orders (Vannini and Waskul, 2013). In the context of this research, I believe gender can be presented and produced by social influences that are personal and communal at the same time. As such, social identities are not just privately held, they are also held by individuals who share, define, and negotiate through interaction (Blumer, 1969). Notably, one cannot quickly dismiss gender as strictly due to performative discourse³⁶, instead it makes more sense to conceptualise how specific social interactions influence aspects of embodiment how others should conform to it.

3.8 Gendered Spaces and Divisions

When exploring how gender is differentiated in certain social contexts (i.e. gender segregated areas within police workplaces), once again theoretically it is beneficial to examine Goffman. Goffman (1977) argued that social interactions, spaces, and institutions have been constructed in ways that highlight gender differences³⁷. Goffman stated that gender performance is often framed as though they come from within (as a consequence of gender differences), but he believed that it was through this process that gender differences are produced. Erving Goffman (1977) noted:

The functioning of sex-differentiated organs is involved, but there is nothing in this functioning that biologically recommends segregation; that arrangement is

³⁵ Revisiting what was discussed in the previous section, Butler argued that gender is performed based on the meaning of how gender is perceived. This performance is a result of social interaction which is modified through interpretation.

³⁶ I subscribe to the notion that while gender can be innate, the social pressures of gender conformity must not be overlooked in respect to embodiment. This will be revisited in Chapters Six and Seven.

³⁷ In Chapter Seven, I draw upon Goffman's theories when exploring gendered uniforms in British policing.

totally a cultural matter... [T]oilet segregation is presented as a natural consequence of the difference between the sex-classes, when in fact it is rather a means of honoring, if not producing, this difference (1977: p. 316).

While Goffman used the gendered segregation of toilets as an example of how 'normative' gendered differences are highlighted, his theoretical concept could also include other visual gendered distinctions (e.g. clothing and hair-styles)³⁸.

Bornstein (1994) contended that visual gendered distinctions exist as a result of sex characteristics. First, the absence of a penis is viewed as a primary gender attribution. As Bornstein (1994) stated "...it has little or nothing to do with vaginas. It's all penises or no penises" (p. 22)³⁹. Second, the presence of breasts also tends to be a primary gender attribution (Hale, 2006). Kessler and McKenna (1978) noted the importance of breasts for those transitioning: the growing of breasts⁴⁰ for MTFs for achieving socially convincing feminine self-presentations; and the removal of breasts for FTMs for achieving socially convincing masculine self-presentations. Third, the presence or absence of reproductive organs (i.e. uterus, ovaries, etc.) which either allow pregnancy or possessing hormones within "normal" ranges of one's age group is also attributed to gender attribution (Hale, 2009). Hale (2009) goes on to describe that gender attribution can further be allocated to having an occupation acceptable for a woman/ or man, engaging in feminine or manly leisure pursuits (i.e. hobbies), and being heterosexual⁴¹.

3.9 Dimensions of Police Culture: Issues with 'Monolithic' Police Culture

Often police culture is described as a singular phenomenon with a 'one size fits all' concept despite a growing realization of the individual influences of officers' gender, race and ethnicity within workplace practices and attitudes, and the different ways working creates occupational cultures (Westmarland 2001). Arguably, police culture is not completely monolithic but can vary from place to place depending on the political and social environment, and the types of populations officers are patrolling combined with variations in social expectations and perceptions⁴². Variance can exist as Reiner (2000) describes it as 'subcultures' that are discerned within broader police cultures. This variance is influenced by representative social constructs, yet there are socialisation components that are notably monolithic. This volatility in the sociology of police culture is due to the fact that most police work is conducted alone at the patrol level with social interactions as a group taking place during a small portion of a patrol shift.

Often monolithic assumptions about police culture are seen as too universalistic or deterministic when conceptualising the role masculinity has within police culture. Chan

³⁸ This will be revisited again in Chapter Seven.

³⁹ This will be explored in further detail in Chapter Five.

⁴⁰ The presence of breasts are often socially deemed a characteristic of womanhood.

⁴¹ This will be explored in further detail in Chapter Five.

⁴² This will be explored further in section 4.2 when limitations of international research will be examined.

(1996) previously stated that “police culture has become a convenient label for a range of negative values, attitudes and practice norms among police officers” (pp. 110). Often this “convenient” concept of monolithic grouping serves as an explanation for negative bias within criminology, but police culture and the sociology of police culture is much more complex. While attempting to explain negative bias within policing criminologists must not simply dismiss it a product of police culture, instead we should seek to understand why officers have certain views. Furthermore, individual personal variables are not accounted for when categorising police as one large sub-group. These affected variables can range from religious beliefs, racial beliefs, cultural beliefs, theories on gender, and theories on sexuality. Additionally, officers bring to the field of policing their unique perspectives, histories, experiences, and personal identities to the job. Intrinsically, these variables are what consist of a personal belief system that may or may not be affected by raptness into cop culture itself.

Often there exists two theoretical orientations when examining police culture: police officers (independent of geographical location) have similar perceptions about their work, how they perform it, and how they perceive the police role to be fulfilled because they are exposed to similar situations and problems within policing environments (see: Brown, 1992; Skolnick, 2011); or police culture is not a unitary construct, but consists of several individual, social and contextual factors (Manning, 2007). Nonetheless, it could be argued that police forces in modern democratic societies (i.e. England, Wales, and USA) do face similar basic pressures that create the framework for a “characteristic culture” (Reiner, 2010, pp. 116). These basic similar pressures may vary in forms of intensity (Reiner, 2010). Hence, it makes more sense to compare perceptions and how these perceptions influence group behaviour than to assume police culture is the same across all democratic societies. In other words, aspects of the ‘working personality’ that Skolnick (1966) and ‘characteristics of a proper police officer’ that Heidensohn (1992) described in the context of a socially generated culture should be explored monolithically instead of generalisations formed within this socially generated culture. In the context of this research, it will be contended that masculinity⁴³ is a characteristic of this ‘working personality’ and therefore cannot be separated from policing as it is viewed as a characteristic for carrying out policing as a performance. I fully acknowledge that there exist various subcultures that may impact perceptions and attitudes within policing when conducting international research⁴⁴.

3.9.1 Individualism and Subcultures in Policing

Arguably, group loyalty and individualism are not cohesive in police culture. Officers are loyal to the group (e.g. their precinct, their department, etc.) yet they think and operate individually and often times within different distinct sub-culture groups. Police subcultures are reflected in officers’ attitudes and their ideological differentiation. Van

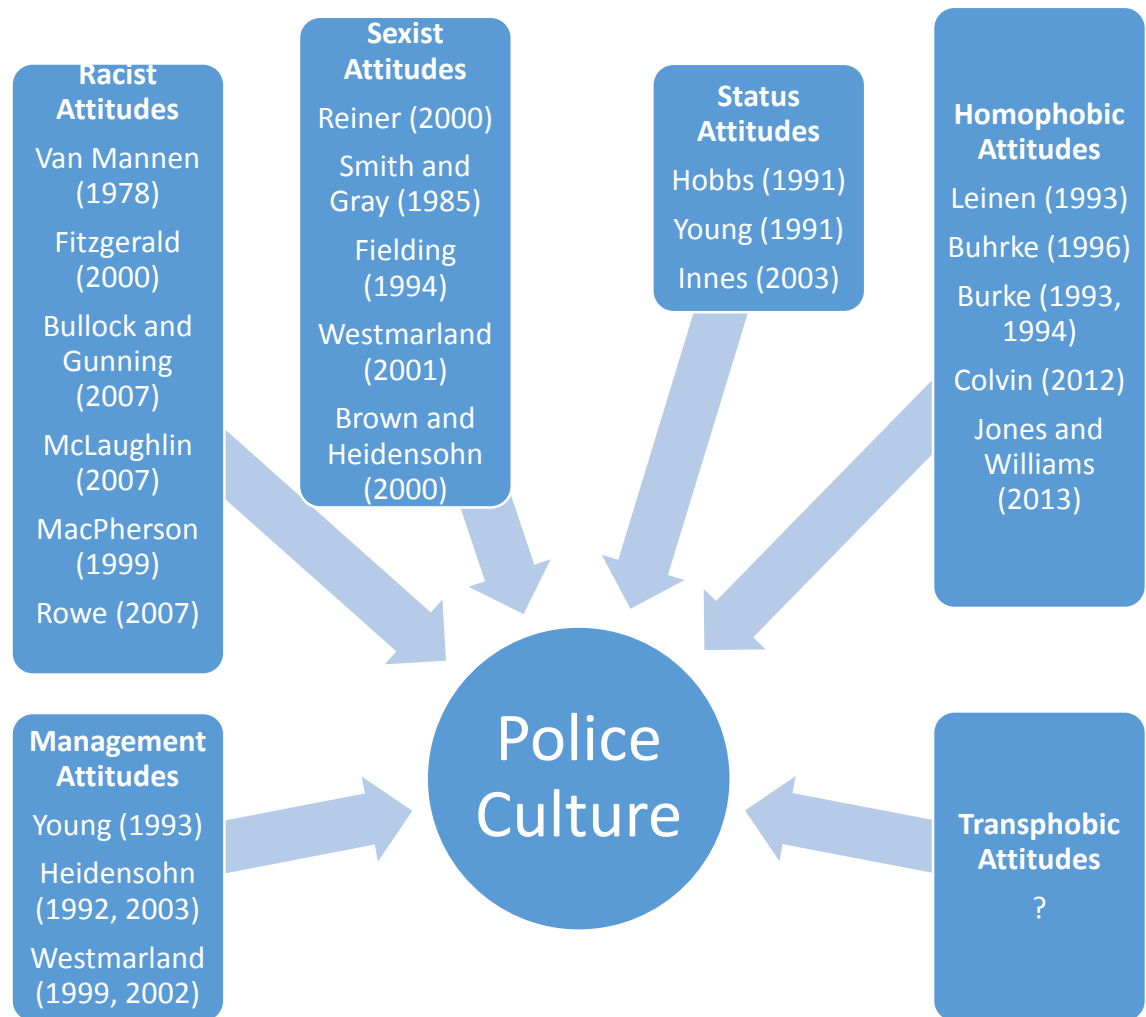
⁴³ Reiner (2010) describes this as ‘machismo’ (p.129) and it will be revisited in detail section 3.9.

⁴⁴ This will be explored in section 4.2.

Maanen and Barley (1985) referred to ideological differentiation where subcultures reflect competing stances towards issues as “the nature of the work, the choice of appropriate techniques, the correct stance towards outsiders, or the best way to treat clients” (p. 44).

As such, culture may vary across organizations, vary according to unique subcultures, and be manipulated by top management particularly when addressing negative attitudes towards certain groups. Negative attitudes such as homophobia, transphobia, heterosexism, and genderism can be influenced by those in supervisory rank with disciplinary powers, training, and policy thus effecting group monolithic police culture. In respect, criminologists must acknowledge that there exists a variety of cop subcultural attitudes between sexuality, gender, race, job assignments, etc. and that these attitudes have a direct impact on the functioning of ‘cop culture’ itself. Thus the complexity of modern police culture should be examined as a fragmented occupational group with various subcultures as some researchers have already done in respect to attitudes within policing (see literature break-down chart figure 3.4). Unfortunately, independently examining all the various different attitudes that impact cop culture are beyond the scope of this research. Due to dimension constraints of this research, I will instead only examine how heterosexist and genderist attitudes influence perceptions of “what constitutes policing and the characteristics of a proper police officer” (Heidensohn, 1990, p. 32) and the role masculinity plays as a characteristic of policing behaviour.

Figure 3.4 Literature Examination of Police Subcultures



3.10 Masculinity within Policing

Reiner (2010) doesn't emphasize that 'cop culture' is puritanical; instead he argues that 'cop culture' is dominated by 'machismo' (p. 129) (i.e. exaggerated masculinity). Notably, masculinity has always been an issue in research within policing, either explicitly or implied. At a basic level, masculinity is simultaneously a place in gender relations which is practised through the way men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture (Connell, 1995). Karen Horney (1932) theorised that masculinity is built on overreactions to femininity, and there exists a connection to the construct of masculinity through the subordination of women. There still exist questions in respect to how the overreactions to femininity interact with males who appear to be effeminate, a stereotypical gay male or a transsexual individual.

Connell (1995) states that patriarchal culture interprets gay men as lacking masculinity; this interpretation is linked to the assumption that American and British culture makes

about the mystery of sexuality that opposites attract. Connell (1995) further states that gay men present the dilemma about masculinity for men who are attracted to other men. It should be noted that hegemonic (i.e. exaggerated masculinity) masculine police ideology typically defines gay men as effeminate (Connell, 1995). As such, gay masculinity is a contradiction for a gender order structured by the way cultural systems exist, much like those who challenge gender roles within the transgender realm.

It could be argued that LGBT+ identities are the repository of whatever is symbolically expelled from hegemonic masculinity in patriarchal ideology within policing. Modern societies view heterosexual men as dominant and gay men as subordinate (Connell, 1995). Gay theorists and feminists share the perception that mainstream masculinity is fundamentally linked to power, organised for domination and resistant to change because of power relations (Connell, 1995). As such, the occupation of policing brandishes a tremendous amount of power over the citizens they are sworn to protect. With the increase in the feelings of empowerment, the groundwork for a negative macho culture magnifies, and those who display any signs of perceived femininity could face conflict when integrating into police culture.

Contemporary British and American societies view sexuality as dichotomised and perceive bisexuality as demonstrating that sexuality is unstable (Connell, 1995). This dilemma has grown to encompass and conflict with lesbianism and those who are transgender or refuse to be classified in stereotypical gender binaries. Further, bisexuality is viewed as an alternation between heterosexuals and gay connections (Connell, 1995). As with bisexuality, there exists psychological conflict with understanding and the classification of transsexuality. This conflict and polarity exists between the binary sexes, since society catalogues individuals as 'male' or 'female'; this can help to explain why some individuals have conflicting feelings about understanding and accepting transgender individuals, arguably within police ideology.

As discussed in chapter two, heterosexism within policing is closely connected with dominant forms of masculinity within policing. The boundary between straight and gay is blurred with the boundary between masculine and feminine in heterosexist ideology (Connell, 1995) and genderist ideology. Gay men are viewed as feminised men and lesbians as masculinised women (Connell, 1995). Consequently, the infusion of hegemonic masculinity within policing may provide a compelling explanation as to why lesbians are more likely to be accepted by their police colleagues. Furthermore, it also helps explain why FTM transgender individuals are much more likely to be accepted compared to gay officers or MTF transgender officers⁴⁵. While gay sexuality itself was considered the repressed truth of conventional masculinity, those that are transgender can be viewed as further leading to conflict with the social ideology of dichotomous gender roles.

⁴⁵ This is explored in Chapters Five and Six.

Due to social influences of heteronormativity, policing as an occupational culture is still heavily influenced by hegemonic masculinity, with a distinction drawn between the men's work of crime-fighting and the women's work of social service activities (Fielding, 1994). Policing, as a masculine profession, reflects "socially gendered perceptual, interactional, and micro-political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine 'natures'" (West and Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). This creates a very binary gendered division between the expectations of those who wear the uniform and police performance abilities. These entrenched binary gender-role stereotypes and assumptions of 'masculine' and 'feminine' have been used to exclude women and those who associate with 'femininity' from job assignments to upper management positions. Some researchers even state that the mere presence of women (i.e. femininity) can symbolically undermine the traditional masculine ethos of policing and be perceived as a threat to masculinity itself (Fielding and Fielding, 1992). With the police ethos of masculinity, danger and authority are interdependent elements in policing where individuals must conform to the adoptive culture. Martin (1980) found that women adapt to policing by either emphasising their femininity or portraying themselves as weak and passive in the presence of male officers, or they may emphasise masculinity. This ethos of masculinity creates a dichotomous relationship between men and women within policing (Fielding, 1994; Garcia, 2003); therefore, it is essential for this research to explore gender construction and masculinity specifically, rather than pointing out the hierarchical relationship by which binary differences between men and women are only reinforced.

The job of policing itself is regarded as one of the few remaining non-military occupations where there is a requirement for physical violence, bodily power and the possibility of mortal danger. Hobbs (1998) suggested that "violence is an enduring, emphatically masculine resource" (p. 29) which may draw individuals who wish to assert their masculinity into an environment where violence is acceptable and even to a lesser extent encouraged. In reference to the usage of acceptable physical violence in policing, police ideologies and the profession itself requires officers to handle themselves (example: Fielding, 1988; Uildriks and Mastrigt; 1991, Heidenson, 1994), and they must be able to be perceived as having the physical ability to do so.

Westmarland (2001) stated that police work is reliant upon physical abilities like running, jumping over fences, climbing buildings, crawling through overturned cars and fighting; these activities serve as a legitimate outlet for masculine aggression at work. Doran and Chan (2003) argued that traditional policing takes the crime-fighting and coercive nature of police work for granted and equates policing with masculinity. This in turn leads to stereotypical assumptions that policing is more fitted to a male existence (Heidensohn, 1992; Appier, 1998; Crank, 1998).

Blumfield (1992) argued that men overemphasise masculinity in certain cultures because any suggestion of displaying traditionally 'feminine' traits like gentleness or sensitivity

encourages colleagues to brand themselves as feminine acting or non-heterosexual; whereas heterosexual women within policing feel pressured to demonstrate masculine traits to prove their abilities (Zimmer, 1987), and in contrast lesbians may feel the need to assert their femininity (Miller et al., 2003). Schneider (1989) and Martin (1980) stated that lesbians may feel the need to display their femininity in order to avoid hostile homophobic confrontations at work. Female officers, straight and gay, recognise that policing requires 'masculine' characteristics like assertiveness, strength and supposed competitiveness, and that acting in this way might confirm suspicions that they are lesbian (Burke, 1993; Pharr, 1988).

Miller et al. (2003) contend that because policing entails homosociality – which is gendered social interactions between males in police culture – any display of any 'feminine' characteristics is perceived as threatening masculinity. This threat towards masculinity causes male officers to conform to macho models to compensate for any questions about their sexuality or gender presentation (Miller et al., 2003). These threats can be validated through the subordination of women, heterosexism, genderism, authority, control, competitive individualism, independence, aggressiveness and the capacity for violence (Connell, 1995; Messerschmidt, 1996), as illustrated by the lack of social acceptance of trans feminine, effeminate gay male identities and femininity in general.

Constant themes of masculinity, often called hegemonic masculinity, exist that are pervasive to police ideologies (Kappeler et al., 1998). Hegemonic masculinity describes the idealised form of masculinity in the dominant form of male reinforcement of power in a cultural and collective domain (Connell, 1995; Messerschmidt, 1996), and the maintenance of it involves engaging in certain practices that validate one's masculinity. The concept of hegemonic masculinity draws upon the Gramscian concept of hegemony, which states that those in dominant positions in society work through ideological means: a consensus of values based on how the dominant group positions it, which is known and understood by those in subordinate groups. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity can only be practised by the few men who exist in a dominant position. When existing in this dominant position, during social construction, influence is exerted upon those in subordinate masculinities, like gay men, who are typically equated with femininity, and those who do not conform to gender ideologies of heteronormativity.

In the United States and the United Kingdom, hegemonic masculinity through social construction can take different forms and can be validated through the subordination of women, heterosexism, genderism, uncontrollable sexuality, authority, control, competitive individualism, independence, aggressiveness and the capacity for violence (Connell, 1995; Messerschmidt, 1996). Hegemonic masculinity's social construction and manifestation in policing can be seen in the division of police work, which relegates female officers to 'women's issues' (Barlow and Barlow, 2000; Merlo and Pollack, 1995; Schulz, 1995), and in administrative policies that value competitiveness, aggressiveness,

persistence and emotional detachment (Epstein, 1971). As such, it is a significant construct within policing. Additionally, hegemonic masculinity has a solidarity theme that is instilled within policing, which unfortunately can make it problematic to change attitudes and perceptions.

3.11 The Male Policing Body

When examining police culture, it would be remiss to address masculinity without exploring gender roles in respect to physical presentations of gender, especially when examining individuals who identify as genderqueer, gender neutral, butch/femme gender, female masculinity and other transgender identities. As with previous gender researchers, I do not see gender as a fixed unit with clearly defined and set restrictions, but rather as a relational entity itself. Gender, as a concept, is a mixture of sexuality and identity; just because an individual possesses a more assumed masculine demeanour, it does not mean they would be better at working in masculine perceived police roles. Hence, it is important to examine those who do not clearly fit within stereotypical assumed binary roles and how they negotiate police culture. Revisiting earlier parts of this chapter, gender intersects and is entangled with concepts in organisational culture and many other analytical social categories.

In respect to police perceptions of analytical social categories, they are not universal. Yet they are dependent on respective contextual setting and exist as a construction of the interaction and performance between the two binary genders (male and female). As such, they can differ between time and space and can be altered throughout history, as well as geographic locations. For example, a 'masculine' perceived officer might be better at deemed 'feminine' job assignments, and vice versa. It should be noted that this can change over time and during a person's career.

Walklate (2001) stated that there is a lack of research with regard to the correlation between perceived gendered tasks and active policing assignments. This reinforces why this research is important when examining police culture through the perceptions of trans officers. Trans officers, who may not conform to gendered binaries, can provide an insight into how expected gendered tasks are performed and how trans officers' policing assignments varied once their gender presentations and sexuality constructions were perceived as challenging masculinity within cop culture.

In policing, the perception is that masculinity is strong and tough, with femininity being weak, sensitive, subordinate and vulnerable. Typically, male officers equate female officers with feminine moral virtue, the domestic realm, social work, formal rules, administration, cleanliness and emotions. Male officers typically equate male officers with guns, crime-fighting, combative, confrontational, resistance to management, fighting, weapons and a desire to work in high-crime areas (Hunt, 1990). Additionally, masculinity within policing is associated with the offensive use of profanity (Morash and Haarr, 1995), anti-women remarks, the usage of affectionate terms like 'hun' and

‘sweetheart’ (Martin and Jurik, 2006), and innuendoes about fellow females’ sexuality (Heidensohn, 1992; Hunt, 1984, 1990). Those who do not fit within the perceived binary masculinity constructs can be perceived as a threat to the masculine character of a crime-fighting policeman (Hunt, 1990). The integration of perceived binary masculinity constructs, if not already socially introduced and constructed, typically begins with an officer’s first policing experience when they start police academy.

Prokos and Padavic (2002) theorised that police academies possess a ‘hidden curriculum’ which encourages conformity to a hegemonic environment. Prokos and Padavic (2002) conducted participant observation in an American academy and found that masculinity is viewed as an essential requirement for policing and that women are perceived as not belonging. Further, they contend that a police academy, the first introduction into police culture, introduces masculinity that excludes women and ‘feminine’ recruits while exaggerating their gendered differences.

These differences are not just heightened in police academy; the process is continued after the completion of police academy, where officers are typically assigned to areas of patrol. Typically, an officer’s choice of initial assignment is not taken into account and they will be assigned to general patrol duties. Immediate supervisors (i.e. sergeants) decide which area an officer is assigned to patrol within their zone, beat, district, etc. This is typically when female and deemed weaker officers first witness aspects of male overprotection. If a female or deemed weaker officer is perceived as physically or mentally incapable of handling one area over another, then an officer’s immediate supervisor may assign said officer to a lesser crime area within the zone, beat, district, etc., where they will potentially face less physical dangers. After negotiating patrol work for a few years, females or deemed weaker officers will usually be ‘yanked off the streets’ to fill a role within an administration position within their agency. This process can indirectly cause some female and effeminate officers to adapt to a more masculine role and presentation in order to conform and be viewed as capable of effective police work (Zimmer, 1987). So, after the first few years of policing from the academy on, females and effeminate males feel pressured to conform to the masculine occupational hierarchy that exists in police culture.

Whittle (2000) described how gender relations are perpetuated through social and cultural practices by the adoption of gender roles. These social and cultural practices in relationship to gender can affect career prospects within policing, with the expectation that women should be assigned to child abuse investigation units and domestic violence units over their more masculine viewed job assignments, such as firearm tactical response units and homicide units. Westmarland (2001) contends that police masculinity is connected to personal autonomy and a perceived ability to fight/aggressiveness, and femininity, which is synonymous with childbirth, is connected to police roles involving victims who are children or women. Westmarland (2001) describes this process as “differential policing” (p. 6). This is the concept that women are unable to choose certain career specialities while being manipulated into undertaking policing assignments that

are concerned with empathy, families and sexual offences, which are associated with positions held by women.

3.12 Conceptualising Transgender Theories and the Connection to Hypermasculinity

As with socialised bias, cultural factors that impact perceptions of heteronormativity are important when examining hypermasculinity. Hypermasculinity is related to hegemonic masculinity in how 'maleness' is situated as a dominant social position of acceptance. In other words, hegemonic masculinity reinforces the notion that 'maleness' is a dominant social position compared to 'femaleness' which is subordinate. This is very apparent in police cultures which rely upon the exaggeration of male expressions like physical strength, aggression, and sexuality (see: Chapter Two). As such, masculinity itself is not a unitary construct, since the lines separating mature masculinity and hypermasculinity can be drawn in different places on a male gender role continuum depending on cultural context (Brown, 1998). Hypermasculinity can typically be adopted with male (or rarely female) constructs as a reaction to: repudiation of feminine aspects of one's self; defence against anxiety for being gay; and socialised parental influences (Brown, 1988; Glass, 1984; Mosher and Sirkin, 1984). In respect to this research, the first construct of hypermasculinity is especially important.

Most of the comprehensive masculinity research on transgender individuals has been conducted in the context of the integration of trans identities into the military. Although culturally the military is not a perfect comparison to policing, they are both highly cohesive, formally segregated and prominently occupied by men (Belkin and McNichol, 2002; Koegel, 1996), and theoretically the military does offer a good perspective on the incorporation of transgender identities within a masculine environment similar in some aspects to policing. Therefore, argumentative component elements to this research would be contentious without exploring Dr. George Brown's seminal work *Transsexuals in the Military: Flight into Hypermasculinity* (1988). Notably, Brown's (1988) theory borrowed and mirrored Steiner et al.'s (1978) concept of a 'flight into femininity' as a possible adult phase in development based on studies of applicants for sex reassignment surgery. Prior to adulthood, adolescents are faced with a social atmosphere which stresses conformity. This is commonly known as 'fitting in'. By an adolescent or even an early adult conforming to social norms, traditionally they are securing psychological provisions and bolstering any flagging self-esteem (Brown, 1988). During this time, adolescents are readily rejected by their peers for minor deviations and aberrations in behaviour and appearance. Reactions to this peer rejection may include deviating further from socialised norms or adopting a hypermasculine persona (Brown, 1988). For transsexuals, androgyny or social conformity in the form of integration is not rejected; they are merely perceived as unobtainable choices (Brown, 1988).

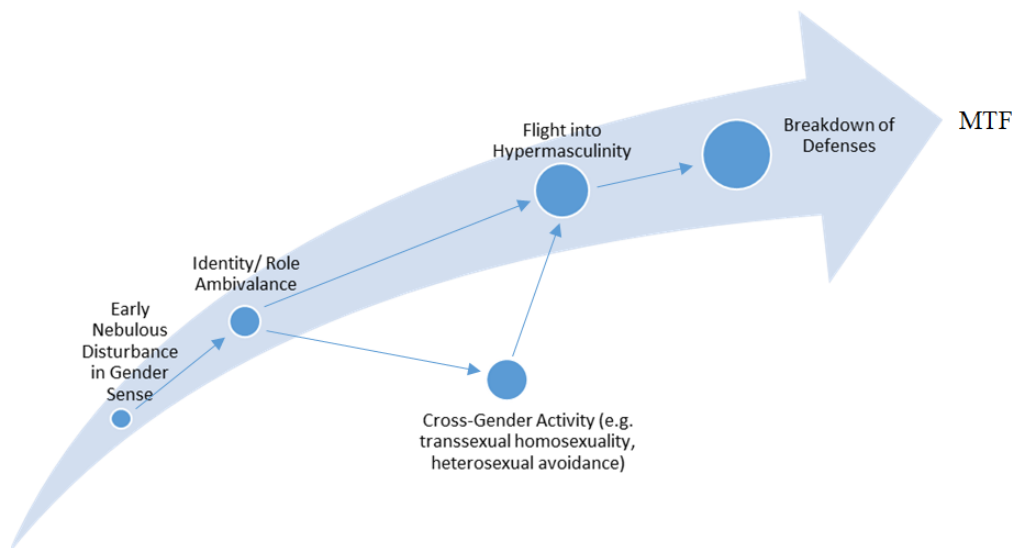
Brown's (1988) theory connected MTF transsexual individuals to motivational factors in hypermasculine positions in a hegemonic masculine profession, the United States

military. A practising military psychologist, Brown (1988) conducted case studies over a three-year period of 11 biological male gender-dysphoric patients who met the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) III⁴⁶ criteria for transsexualism. Brown's theory argues that there is evidence that the hypermasculine phase of psychological development coincides with the age of enlistment in all his studied cases (Brown, 1988). This age of enlistment, young and middle adulthood, coincides with typical police recruitment ages. In the same way that Glass (1984), Ovesey (1969) and Mosher and Sirkin (1984) have broken down theoretical constructs of transsexual role development, Brown (1988) further broke down his theory of transsexual role development into three theoretical constructs: repudiation of feminine aspects of the self, defence against homosexual anxiety and early/middle childhood parental influences.

Brown (1988) argued that hypermasculinity is the self-imposed conflict between core gender identity and gender roles – a conflict that can occur across childhood into adulthood. Brown (1988) additionally argued that males pursue hypermasculinity in a quintessential hypermasculine environment to purge their cross-gender identifications. In other words, the more masculine an individual acts, the less their femininity is observed, making gender presentation less problematic for some pre-op MTF transsexuals. By enlisting in a hypermasculine profession, MTFs can immerse themselves in an environment that is dichotomous and intolerant of any challenges to gender binaries (McDuffie and Brown, 2010). Therefore, by enlisting in an organisation that rewards and encourages masculine behaviours, like risk-taking, stoicism, controlled violence, heterosexuality and contempt for physical/emotional weakness, they are able to purge their desire to be feminine (McDuffie and Brown, 2010). McDuffie and Brown (2010) suggested that the flight into hypermasculinity may not be restricted to the US military, and that potentially this phenomenon could occur in non-military hypermasculine environments, like “motorcycle racing, police/security work, firefighting duties, and contact sports” (p. 23).

⁴⁶ The DSM-III has upgraded to the current version of the DSM-V, which changed gender disorder to gender dysphoria.

Figure 3.5 Brown's (1988) MTF Transsexual 'Flight into Hypermasculinity'



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3.13 Contextual Chapter Summary

This contextual chapter explored relevant terms and theories, concepts of gender and sexuality, and previous studies relating to this research. Of particular interest was how the trans community views and feels about the police. Additionally, I highlighted previous research that has illustrated how trans identities have been victims of harassment, physical assault and sexual assault at the hands of the police, which may indicate that forms of trans bias (e.g. genderism) exist within policing.

This chapter also discussed sociological gender theories to better understand how perceptions of sexuality and gender might explain the nature of gender ideologies within police culture. The purpose of doing so was to conceptualise how dominant constructions of gender, and more specifically how these are situated within police culture, can promote certain attitudes towards those who challenge binary gender perceptions. Societal expectations of how gender is performed are reliant upon perceptions of 'gender identity'. Therefore, how gender is perceived within police culture can influence social perceptions of trans identities.

Theoretically, this chapter also explored how gender theory and the concepts of binaried gender systems of 'masculine' and 'feminine' are socially derived from our assumptions about biological sex characteristics (male or female). By using components of gender theory, queer theories and transgender theories, this chapter argued that genderism can exist in cultural systems where there exist connections between biological sex and a person's gender presentation. These connections can impact how socialised perceptions

⁴⁷ Adapted from Brown (1988).

are associated within genderist ideology. Yet, the ways that transgender individuals present their gendered selves are social constructs of what they perceive as 'masculine' and 'feminine'. Notably, questions still remain as to how gender theories can explain those who identify as gender variant, since they are perceived as not conforming to any socialised binary constructs.

Additionally, this chapter explored how the performance of gender is connected to hypermasculinity. Hypermasculinity can manifest within police culture, which has similar gender expectations to military culture, as a repudiation of feminine aspects of one's self; in defence against gay sexual activities; and as a result of socialised parental influences (see: Brown, 1988; Glass, 1984; Mosher and Sirkin, 1984). While the military profession is unlike the paramilitary profession of policing in some aspects, it should be noted that there are stark similarities in the subcultural values of both; for example, an emphasis on virility, stoicism, machismo and assertiveness, which will be outlined in the following chapter. As with the military, policing as an occupation can serve as a means to reaffirm values of masculinity and heterosexuality, which reinforces binary assumptions about gender. Therefore, available studies of LGBT+ experiences within the military are reviewed due to the lack of directly relevant research on transgender occupational experiences within policing.

Chapter Four

My Methodological 'Investigation': Why, Who and How

In this chapter, I explore the complexities and challenges of carrying out research on sexuality, gender and social acceptance within policing. I examine how my own previous experiences within policing and of being a lesbian within policing informed my research process. This chapter examines why I conducted this research, who I conducted this research on and how I conducted this research. Throughout this process, I integrate reflexive insights within the body of this chapter and illustrate how I was able to benefit from being an insider, and at times an outsider, during the course of this research.

Going into this research I constructed my research questions based on my previous experiences as a police officer and on previous literature in the field. I was consumed with trying to understand why lesbians, gay men and transgender officers are viewed differently within police culture even though at times they share a socially stigmatised status. I knew from my previous experiences⁴⁸ what I wanted to ask and what evidential leads I wanted to explore in this investigation. Therefore, I drew upon my background as a police detective in how I conducted this research. Unlike my previous criminal investigations, this time what I was investigating was the answers to my research questions:

- 1) What are the perceptions of cisgender officers towards transgender officers, and what are the consequences of these perceptions?
- 2) What are the occupational experiences and perceptions of officers who identify as transgender within policing?
- 3) What are the reported positive and negative administrative issues that transgender individuals face within policing?

As a former police officer, there is no doubt that I know a great deal about policing and the working mechanics and components of police culture from first-hand experience. Notably, I share Blum's (2000)⁴⁹ and Baigent's (2001)⁵⁰ views that the world of academia is foreign and has remained difficult at times due to my previous background in policing. During the course of my methodological investigation, the evidence (my data/interviews) was used to answer my research questions. Additionally, to ensure the credibility of this research, I mimicked the same critical and ethical approach that I adopted as a police officer when I examined my empirical findings and theoretical themes.

⁴⁸ See Appendix C.

⁴⁹ Blum (2000) worked in a shipyard and then moved on to do research about shipyards.

⁵⁰ Baigent (2001) was a firefighter and then moved into academia researching masculinity within fire services.

Transitioning from policing to a researcher role is not a new phenomenon within criminology (see: Dunnighan, 1995⁵¹; Holdaway, 1983; Niederhoffer, 1967; Waddington, 1999⁵²; Young, 1991⁵³). Holdaway (1983) was a former British police sergeant who engaged in covert research and participant observation for *Inside the British Police: A Force at Work*. Arguably, Holdaway's (1983) work could be criticised for his documented difficulty in exploring how he acknowledged or separated his police identity from his research. While ethnographic in nature, Holdaway's (1983) accounts and observations did not indicate if he used his investigative skills to aid him during the course of his research, nor did he acknowledge how his role in his research could have impacted his data. Another cop turned researcher, Niederhoffer (1967), had a lengthy (21-year) grounded history within policing. Niederhoffer, a former American lieutenant with the NYPD, wrote several books about police culture and police cynicism. Niederhoffer's brilliant book *Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society* used his police experience and interviewing skills to research cynicism in American police culture. Much like Niederhoffer, I used my grounded police interviewing skills to lift up the 'blue curtain', as Niederhoffer puts it, with the aim of conducting research without complex sociological jargon which instead presents the phenomenon through the eyes of those being researched. Like Niederhoffer, I found that during my research interviews I benefited from my previous service within policing and the skills I learned as a detective⁵⁴.

4.1 Why Qualitative Research?

Qualitative research is part of the interpretative sociological approach which assesses the understanding of meaning that individuals assign to different social phenomena taking place in social worlds (Snape and Spenser, 2003). The use of qualitative research emphasises examining perceptions of human thinking, acting and knowing and the way individuals understand themselves and the world around them. As such, this approach enables researchers to examine detailed and complex references to human perceptions that quantifying data would not permit (Dantzker and Hunter, 2000). Therefore, qualitative research is interested in the way the world is "understood, experienced or produced" (Mason, 1996, p. 4) by individual's lives, behaviour and interactions (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This interest in qualitative research takes into context actors' "perspectives on their own worlds" (Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 7; Creswell, 1998, p. 15), their senses and their "meanings" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 10; Maxwell, 1996, p. 17; Silverman, 2000, 2005), in personal narratives of life stories (Atkinson, 2005) and in accounts of "life experiences" (Whittemore, Chase and Mandle, 2001, p. 524; Morse, 2005, p. 859). This allows for participants to use their own "language", in their expressive "forms of social interactions" (Silverman, 2000, p. 89) through their "viewpoints and practices" (Flick, 1998, p. 6) and by discovering new empirically

⁵¹ Dunningham served as a police constable in the UK.

⁵² Waddington served for three years as a police constable in the UK.

⁵³ Young served as a police officer in Australia.

⁵⁴ See section 4.8.

grounded theories. Further, qualitative research is interpretive (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Mason, 1996; Marshall and Rossman, 1999; Angen, 2000), inductive (Maxwell, 2004) and uses multiple methods, or is heterogeneous, which rejects “natural sciences as a model” (Silverman, 2000, p. 8).

Additionally, qualitative research is grounded in communication (Gialdino, 2009) and focuses on an interactive research process involving the researcher and the participants (Flick, 1998; Marshall and Rossman, 1999). During the process of qualitative research, interaction between interview and interviewee is used to decipher what is known, what may be known and how it is known. Therefore, I believe that using a qualitative research style provided a more detailed and deeper understanding of the research unknowns: officers’ complex opinions and perceptions towards LGBT+ identities, alongside transgender police experiences within police culture.

4.2 Why Not Comparative Research?

Fosdick (1915) provided the earliest example of examining policing across cultures by evaluating handbooks of evidence for both their similarity and their diversity. Jones (1985) stated comparative research has three major merits: “a better understanding of the home environment; broader ideas and ‘lessons from abroad’; and wider case material which can further ‘the development of theoretical constructs” (p. 4). Mawby (1990) contributed further by stating comparative research can be classified into “overall comparisons of two or more countries; a focus of policing in one specific country; and a comparison of particular issues related to policing two or more countries” (p.6).

Cross-cultural comparative criminological research assists in the task of “establishing the regularity, and possibly, the universality of experience” (Brown and Heidensohn, 2000, p. 19). In having considered adopting a comparative approach, the present study explored the potential to yield the following benefits associated with cross-cultural comparative criminal justice studies:

- (1) “extending knowledge of alternative possibilities;
- (2) developing more powerful insights into human behaviour;
- (3) increasing the likelihood of successful reform and
- (4) gaining perspective on ourselves as human beings” (Bayley, 1999, p. 6).

Obviously when conducting comparative research between the United States, England, and Wales there are political and cultural contrasts the researcher should take into account (Heidensohn, 1992)⁵⁵. These contrasts can become more apparent or less obvious based on the narrowed focus of the subject area that is explored comparatively. For example, if

⁵⁵ Heidensohn’s work is notably cited throughout this work because she has contributed significantly to modern comparative policing studies along with the intersectionality of gender and organisational cultures.

I were to examine officer attitudes towards firearms there could be a discrepancy between US and UK responses due to all American officers being required to carry a firearm. Yet, where there are well-established similarities (i.e. masculinity within police)⁵⁶ differences may become less prominent. Here in lies the issues with comparative research: the unit of comparative analysis is influenced by multifaceted dimensions within national borders, region or locale, that on their own may require a comparative approach. If anything, the criminologist, in particular when undertaking critical criminological enquires, always compares: whether internationally, culturally, or on a micro-level (Hudson, 2008; Friedrichs, 2011; Van Swaaningen, 2007).

Brown and Heidensohn (2000) in their research on gender highlight the pragmatic issue when conducting comparative policing research by stating:

“...it is not practically possible to experiment with society by creating laboratory conditions in which all factors but the key variables are controlled, comparisons of parallel societies or structures provide the nearest equivalent” (p. 26).

There are notable key differences between the United States, England, and Wales. One of the more obvious differences is the carrying of firearms in the US (police and non-police alike). Policing styles are also somewhat different, from variations of ‘zero-tolerance’ in portions of the US to ‘policing by consent’ in the UK⁵⁷. Further, there exists innumerable complexities of social, political, and cultural patterns that are unique to the US and the UK specifically.

Yet, there are significant similarities that would allow this type of comparative research to be conducted reasonably. First, all three countries serve as representative examples of how policing is conducted in modern Western societies (Colvin, 2012). When examining policing as a performance and organisational issues specifically, McKenzie and Gallagher (1989) stated:

“...superficially all police departments are the same. They have identical...organizational philosophies; usually expressed in the form of an aim to prevent crime and preserve public tranquillity “(p. 3).

In other words, the “nature of police work” (Heidensohn, 1992, p. 200) is similar. Revisiting chapter three, the performance of policing is deemed dangerous, difficult, and requires an amount of authority to be carried out (Heidensohn, 1992). As such, there are similar socially and politically influences upon what and who would be successful to a policing ethos or ‘working personality’⁵⁸. Heidensohn (1992) refers to this concept as

⁵⁶ See: Brown and Heidensohn (2000), Colvin (2012), Heidensohn (1992), Westmarland (2001), etc. Further, refer to Chapters 2 and 3.

⁵⁷ Other differences would include customs, practices, terminology, crime rates, social unrest, racial tensions, historical legal racial segregation, legalised biases (i.e. religious laws in the US), levels of militarisation within forces, variances in legal frameworks, etc.

⁵⁸ Refer to Chapter Three.

the nature of police is “a myth or an ideology, which does not derive from the reality of policing but from beliefs, or perhaps wishes about it” (p. 202). Taking comparative research issues into consideration, in the preliminary stages of this research I started to discover that officers seemed to share more similarities in who and how a ‘working personality’ is perceived than their respective geographical differences. In other words, police officers themselves subscribe to a concept of a policing ethos⁵⁹.

Third, all three countries have faced concurrent timelines in respect to LGBT+ equality and LGBT+ political movements. Additionally, LGBT+ police associations emerged in all three countries at nearly the same time, with similar goals and agendas (Colvin, 2012). Notably if, in comparison, there were apparent empirical differences, I drew distinctions and considered them in presenting the results and theorisation.

Therefore, my comparative approach was rather a blend of a practitioner approach (taking a pragmatic view on what can be learned from individual, site, culture, and eventually, to an extent, national differences and similarities) and a theorist approach (attempting to explain practices and predict how to use the different types of comparisons to improve policies) (Mawby, 1990). The purpose of conducting research on this topic comparatively in the way I have undertaken it, was to establish if expectations of how masculinity is performed within this policing ethos in American and British policing impacted those who challenge it, namely those who are transgender. During the beginning stages of this research, I was somewhat aware that perceptions of masculinity could impact those who challenge these notions of masculinity. Yet, at that moment it was unsure if this phenomenon was restricted to American police culture based on my previous experiences within American policing cultures⁶⁰. In other words, I did focus comparatively on whether English and Welsh police cultures had similar as much as differing socio-cultural expectations of the performance of masculinity as American police cultures. By doing so, the examination started to shed light on the question if the perceived failure of masculine performance within police culture is somewhat solely responsible for the unacceptance of those who overtly either challenge masculinity (MTFs), embrace it (FTMs), or reject gendered binaries all-together (gender queer, gender fluid, etc.). Throughout this process I was aware that I was viewing two related and simultaneously separate political and cultural systems to determine the importance of masculinity in forming the experiences of transgender police. It must be emphasised here through that the comparative element has been more a strongly assumed aspect, but not necessarily focused on unit of analysis throughout the study.

Notably, as previously stated I am aware of the limitations of a comparative analysis of policing. Since this is the first research piece to examine transgender police experiences alongside cisgender perceptions of transgender identities, there exists no comparative data. Second, there are always underlining individual, cultural, and national political

⁵⁹ This will be revisited in Chapter Five.

⁶⁰ Refer to Appendix.

influences that could impact social interactions within police cultures, and vice versa. While Jones and Newburn (2006) stated that comparative research can understand how a “policing landscape” (p.3) came to the way it is through political analysis, this research aims for the opposite. This research is not seeking an understanding how the “policing landscape” (p.3) might have changed, instead I am seeking a better understanding of what already exists and what can be learned from comparative analysis, aiming to discover how the policing landscape itself-regarding transgender emancipation-could be changed by providing policy recommendations. In other words, this research strived upon finding out what increases transgender acceptance within police cultures by looking at how each individual, socio-cultural locale and country addressed transgender bias.

4.3 Ontological and Epistemological Connections

Humans as social beings are self-interpreting. As such, we typically attach meanings to what we do, how we believe or how we are, thus creating issues with how to research certain attitudes and perceptions of human behaviour. Feminist epistemology includes the belief that knowledge is produced, not simply found, and that the conditions of its production should be critically studied and evaluated (Ackerly and True, 2010). There is no general agreement on what feminist methodology is; there are only certain principles which can be applied to the use of such a method. Allen and Walker stated that “...feminism is a perspective (a way of seeing), an epistemology (a way of knowing) and ontology (a way of being in the world)” (1992, p. 201). Further, Stanley and Wise (1993) stated that research:

...is a process that occurs through the medium of a person – the researcher is always and inevitably in the research. This exists whether openly stated or not (p. 175).

Stanley and Wise (2008) further stated:

Feminist methodology matters because it is the key to understanding the relationship between knowledge/ power and so it has epistemological reverberations. It also provides important tools for helping to produce a better and more just society, and so it has political and ethical reverberations too (P. 222).

To expand, the feminist research paradigm ideologically connects to social inequality research because feminism occupies a critical point in politics while having an underpinning emancipatory aim (Talbot, 2010). When further examining this feminist paradigm, Stanley and Wise (1993) concluded that:

Knowledge is necessarily constructed from where the researcher/ theoretician is situated, and so feminist knowledge should proceed from the location of the feminist academic and work outwards from this...all research contexts are grounded and specific, and therefore the knowledge-claims which feminist

researchers make should be modest and recognize their particularity and specificity (p. 223).

Therefore, in the context of recognising particularity and specificity my epistemological and ontological position aligns within a semi-symbolic interactionist queer lens. As previously discussed in detail in chapter 3, I believe that gendered identities (to an extent) are created and maintained with interactions with others. Further, my ontological position leans towards the notion that the social reality of gender expectations does not exist in a fixed state. Instead, the social reality of gender presentation exists in a fluid, sometimes fragmented, and unfixed state within society. Because a body interacts and responds to a social environment (i.e. gender expectations) they are performing in, gender itself is a fluid.

Pragmatically, the primary issues for feminist researching transgender identities is whether or not to claim if gender categories should be grounded in essentialist or social constructionist realms (Johnson, 2012). Feminist post-structuralist Simone de Beauvoir (1953) stated “one is not born a woman, but rather becomes, a woman” called for feminist to recognise the argument that gender is socially constructed. While some essentialist feminist politically rejected transsexualism, post structuralist found that this epistemological challenge of gender beneficial for researching transgender identities. Kessler and McKenna (1978) stated:

..the constitutive belief that there are two genders not only produces the idea of gender role, but also creates a sense that there is a physical dictomy...gender is a social construction, that a world of two “sexes” is a result of the socially shared, taken-for granted methods which members use to construct reality (p. xi).

Further, Kessler and McKenna (1978) argued that practices of “passing” contributed to the “naturalization” of gender. In struggles to “pass” within a binary gender, transsexuals consciously have to present gender attributes, general talk, and physical appearances (Johnson, 2012). Kessler and McKenna (1978) notably drew upon Garfinkel’s (1967) work, who suggested that “passing” in an ongoing social interaction process⁶¹ (Johnson, 2012). Notably, I do not subscribe to essentialist arguments that transwomen cannot lay claim to the identity “woman” because they will never feel or experience what it is to be a “woman” (e.g. Jefferys, 2003; Raymond 1980). Further recognising particularity and specificity of my epistemological and ontological position, as a semi-symbolic interactionist, I agree with feminist post structuralism which stresses the importance of social influences and the complex social interactions required to “do” gender⁶².

4.4 LGBT+ Standpoint

⁶¹ This was discussed in Chapter Three and will be revisited in Chapters 6 and 7.

⁶² This was discussed in Chapter Three in detail.

For this research I relied upon the components of feminist standpoint theory. Feminist standpoint theory is contingent upon claims that being in a subordinate position, e.g. as women or LGBT+, allows for a more accurate, comprehensive and objective interpretation of the world because they are “situated knowers” of social oppression (Collins, 2000). As “situated knowers” feminist standpoint epistemology asserts that all knowledge is socially situated; it requires researchers to specify the location and contexts in which their knowledge is produced. Further, conceptualised knowledge is situated and relational, instead of objective truth (Smith, 1990)⁶³. Much like Adams and Phillips (2006), I do not interpret socially situated knowledge as defining, but instead differences in socially produced knowledge can create different epistemic landscapes which both hinders and facilitate access to different information and experiences.

It must be stated that feminist standpoint theory is a branch of critical theory. Critical theorists contest that a research standpoint is inevitable and must be presented as overt (Hudson, 2000). Rather than pretending to be objective (i.e. remaining impartial) in research, critical theorists take an overt approach to their positionality. Therefore, critical theorists, and more specifically feminist standpoint theorists, squarely acknowledge the question posed by Becker (1967) and Goullder (1968) as to ‘which side they are on’.

Homfray (2008) argued that the advantage of adopting a feminist standpoint and being objective to positionality enables one to adopt a critical perspective with respect to many concepts that can be taken for granted in the “straight” world. Therefore, I openly acknowledge that I know little of the personal experiences of identifying as transgender. Yet, due to my ‘butch’ identity, I am familiar with being a victim of gender policing⁶⁴ as well as having personal experience of being a gay cop and being socially stigmatised. Further, I also worked with the first transgender officer in our department and observed both heterosexism and genderism directed towards her⁶⁵. Arguably, I believe my connection to the LGBT+ community allows me to acknowledge the challenges that LGBT+ individuals face within policing and the unique perspectives and socialisation within the LGBT+ policing community. This is similar to what Homfray (2008) and Letherby et al. (2012) refer to as LGBT+ standpoint epistemology with emancipatory aims. Thus, I contend with Jones (2014) that LGBT+ individuals are in the best position ‘to know’ about similar experiences and similar working environments because they are LGBT+ and studying LGBT+ identities. Yet, my position as a former police officer places me in an even more specific position⁶⁶ of ‘knowledge’ than previous researchers (e.g. Jones, 2014).

⁶³ Haraway (1988) referred to this as “situated knowledges”.

⁶⁴ This is covered at length when I discuss ‘bathroom battles’ in Chapter Seven.

⁶⁵ See Appendix C for a chapter which records my experiences and observations during my police tenure.

⁶⁶ This specific positionality of being an insider-outsider, or what I refer to as an in-betweenner, has allowed me to shed a new and different light on LGBT+ police research. This will be explored in further detail in section 4.10.

First, I openly disclose my positionality in this research during all components of my research methodology. Second, the feminist style of reflection was embedded within the execution of this research design. I was at all times aware of the politics of empiricism and power dynamics that existed between me and my participants. By placing my experiences and how they contributed to this research at the core, I followed previous feminist-inspired LGBT+ standpoint research.

Figure 4.1: Previous LGBT+ Standpoint Researchers

Researcher(s)	Implications Shared with Participants	Research
Adams and Phillips (2006)	Black–biracial, bisexual, and disabled	Two-Spirit Lesbian and Gay Native Americans
Haritaworn (2008)	Genderqueer identity	Intersection of queer politics and interracial families in Britain and Germany
Homfray (2008)	Gay Male	Ethnographic study of gay and lesbian community activists in the North-West of England, largely concentrating on the cities of Manchester and Liverpool.
Jones (2014)	Gay Male	British Lesbian and Gay Police
Lee (2008)	Gay Male	British older gay men
Yip (2008)	Gay Male	Intersection of LGBT identities and religion (British LGBT Christians and Muslims)

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A large portion of this research relies upon my reflectivity coupled with ‘strong objectivity’. ‘Strong objectivity’ requires that the “subject of knowledge be placed on the same critical, casual plane as the objects of knowledge” (Harding, 1993: pp. 69). Therefore, ‘strong objectivity’ requires what is commonly known as ‘strong reflexivity’ (Harding, 1993). This is because who we are as researchers impacts every stage of research: the selection of a research topic, the research method, the collection of data, the interpretation of data, decisions when to ‘stop’ research, and so on. Therefore, objectivity-maximising procedures rely upon the researcher and their social situation (standpoint theory) and must be considered as part of the object of knowledge when maintaining the

⁶⁷ Notably, there are several researchers who have relied upon LGBT+ standpoint methodologies who defend emancipatory aims. Yet, the studies specifically addressed the benefits of conducting such research on LGBT+ communities while reflecting upon how their LGBT+ identity plays a role upon data collection.

highest scholarly standards. This process entails examining and acknowledging one's positionality transparently while reflecting upon how this position influences how the research was carried out. Notably, my gender, my sexuality, my masculine female presentation and my experiences as a police officer connect me to components of this research while privileges (primarily through a positivist, empirical frame replicating the split between the 'knower' and the 'known') and discredits other ways of knowing. Therefore in the context of this research, 'strong objectivity' also refers to the politics of knowledge reproduction with a greater emphasis on the social situation of knowledge producers to produce a more transparent and thus potential ethical result required to uphold the rigor of scholarly standards (see: Longino, 1993).

I acknowledge that my research can never be a true reflection of the culture, place or people I have studied. My ability to 'tell it the way it is' is complicated by my own personal experience, and therefore I acknowledge that my writing is not a transparent representation of culture, nor should it be (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). Therefore, my 'reality' and my perceptions have been constructed in my previous social settings through direct and indirect experiences which are influenced by the tools I used. By acknowledging this, I am able to present my findings as "textual constructions of reality" (Atkinson, 1990), which are a product in part of a story-telling institution (Van Maanen, 1995). Hence, the claims made in this research must be interpreted within context, and readers should note "the orientation of the researcher ... will be shaped by their socio-historical locations, including the values and interest that these locations confer upon them" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 16).

4.5 How I Designed My Interview Instrument: Pilot Interviews

From a theoretical stance, this research explored previous sexuality, gender, and transgender theories which could be drawn upon in concepts (e.g. ideologies) and how these ideas could be used for better conceptualisation in understanding an empirically neglected phenomenon. From a policy-related stance, I wanted to identify administrative issues of non-acceptance and determine what recommendations can be made for changes in policy to encourage more LGB, and more specifically transgender, acceptance within police culture.

Initially, I discovered during the pilot stage of my interviews that my questions were too broad and general. These original structured questions were:

- 1) What are your perceptions of LGBT+ individuals within policing?
- 2) Do you perceive all LGBT+ identities to be the same?
- 3) How do you think the work environment of LGBT+ officers can be improved?

During the beginning stages of this research, I asked former colleagues preliminary questions, and I determined from their responses and suggestions that there were several issues that I needed to correct. My first two questions, ‘What are your perceptions of LGBT+ individuals within policing?’ and ‘Do you perceive all LGBT+ identities to be the same?’, indirectly implied to my pilot interviewees that there are collective similarities between LGBT+ identities. By distinctly putting the members of the LGBT+ community into their specific sexuality and gender identities, I learned that these encouraged interviewees to explain their perceptions of each category. Additionally, it allowed for my participants who identified as a member of the LGBT+ community to specifically address their opinions of other LGBT+ sexualities and gender identities separately. Therefore, I modified these questions to:

- Do you view your force as supportive of lesbian identities?
- Do you view your force as being supportive of gay identities?
- Do you view your force as supportive of bisexual identities?
- Do you view your force as supportive of transgender identities?
- What is the most positive experience with members of the LGB community you have witnessed during your tenure?
- What is the most positive experience with members of the transgender community you have witnessed during your tenure?
- What is the most negative experience with members of the LGB community you have witnessed during your tenure?
- What is the most negative experience with members of the transgender community you have witnessed during your tenure?

Altering my interview questions to acknowledge and include the specific variations in sexuality and gender identity opened up the possibility of more dialogue taking place to address the specific perceptions of these identities within policing.

My other pilot questions – ‘Do you perceive all LGBT+ identities to be the same?’ and ‘How do you think the work environment of LGBT+ officers can be improved?’ – were combined to become the following research question:

- Do you or fellow colleagues perceive lesbians, gays, bisexuals, FTM transgender individuals and MTF transgender individuals differently? Why?

After I altered my original pilot questions, I conducted an additional pilot interview with a member of the transgender policing community. After asking the modified questions,

my interviewee pointed out that I needed to ask additional questions if any of my future participants identified as transgender. Therefore, for my transgender participants, my interview questions were modified to include:

- What are some issues within your department you have had to overcome?
- Was the department open to your needs during trans status disclosure, during transitioning or afterwards?
- What administrative police improvements would you recommend that should be implemented to improve the integration into police culture of a transgender colleague, a colleague who wants to transition or a colleague who discloses that they are a gender variant?
- What specific occupational issues should be changed to accommodate their needs?

During my interviews with members of the transgender community, I tactfully asked my questions by asking about positive experiences first, and then shifted my interview focus to any reports of negative experiences. Focusing on personal victories or positive experiences first in interviews enabled transgender participants to feel more in control and protected during disclosures of workplace experiences. This is similar to what Rubin and Rubin (1995) suggest when interviewing participants on sensitive emotional topics and is also a tactic used in police interviews. Therefore, by incorporating these questions in my interviews, I was able to use my participants' responses to look at what creates positive and/or negative workplace environments and how these experiences can be improved by answering the following original research questions:

- What are the occupational experiences and perceptions of officers who identify as transgender within policing?
- What are the reported positive and negative administration issues that transgender individuals face within policing?

4.6 Structured Questioning

As outlined in the previous section, I chose questions after modifications during the pilot interview stage that could aid in answering my original research questions. Therefore, by using structured questions I was able to allow a certain amount of disclosure and openness in my participants' responses, yet I could also redirect them if they strayed too far away from the topic in question. By intentionally allowing for responses to be somewhat open, I often found myself having to improvise the order in which I asked questions or how I asked specific questions.

For example, if my participant discussed something relevant and significant to them, often I would have to ask further questions to ask them to expand on what they were discussing for better conceptualisation. I chose not to adhere to a strict rigid question design, because I did not want to take away the power of the statements that were being disclosed to me. This exploratory flexibility aided my investigation of a sensitive phenomenon within policing. Had I not used this format, I believe that very fruitful data would have been lost during the course of this research.

4.7 Research Participants: Sampling

Qualitative research typically uses non-probability (i.e., criterion-based or purposive) samples (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003; Silverman, 2010). The sampling I used for this research was purposive. I examined similar themes within each interview and reflected upon the specific features of each theme that were significant to this study. Therefore, statistical representativeness was irrelevant, and the interviewees' subjective and individualised experiences were emphasised. Silverman (2010) states that using purposive sampling allows those with the best knowledge and experiences to be involved. As such, it was logical to apply this sampling technique to this research.

I chose to interview members of law enforcement who have direct interaction with members of the LGBT+ community and the LGBT+⁶⁸ policing community. My sample included members of the transgender policing community and their colleagues. Below is a table which differentiates my sample according to country, sexuality and/or gender identity.

⁶⁸ See chapter five for cisgender participants' empirical data.

Figure 4.2 Participant Demographics

Participants	American	English/ Welsh	Total
Cisgender Heterosexual Males	8	3	11
Cisgender Heterosexual Females	2	1	3
Cisgender Lesbians	3	4	7
Cisgender Gay Males	2	2	4
Cisgender Bisexual Individuals	0	0	0
FTM	1	2	3
MTF	4	4	8
Genderqueer Identity ⁶⁹	0	2	2
Cross-Dresser Identity ⁷⁰	0	1	1
Total	20	19	39

Since I was aware of the sensitive nature of my research, I gave participants the choice of their preferred interview location. Interviews took place in police training institutions, on patrol during police ride-alongs, at trans and gay PRIDE events, in police offices, at my research office, and over the telephone. Through contacts provided by my interviewees, I tried to get in touch with additional participants who might be interested in talking to me. To a certain extent I was successful with this ‘snowballing’ approach, and I believe this was imperative in gaining LGBT+ participants, because they represent a ‘hidden’ and vulnerable population (Browne, 2005). Furthermore, the transgender population has been noted to be a hard-to-reach population for research (Office of National Statistics, 2009). Additionally, snowball sampling is extremely relevant and useful when the subject matter is sensitive and private and where individuals might not therefore participate readily because of social stigmas (see: Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981).

During this snowballing process, my initial respondents forwarded my contact information to other respondents. The transgender policing community, specifically, verified that I was a legitimate researcher and not a news reporter⁷¹. I believe vouching for me through this type of snowballing method assisted in a higher participation rate of

⁶⁹ Trans participants’ sexuality identification was reliant upon disclosure. Therefore, those who identified as genderqueer did not identify with any type of sexuality because they did not associate with any type of gender (since sexuality is usually defined by gender as discussed in Chapter Three).

⁷⁰ My only cross-dresser participant identified as male and he firmly stated that his sexuality was heterosexual.

⁷¹ During the beginning stages of my interviews, I had some participants advise that they conducted a background check on to verify that I was not a news reporter trying to exploit them.

trans-identified officers. Additionally, this type of snowballing technique assisted in verification of police officer status to ensure that my participants were actually serving police officers. In other words, a trans police participant contacting me and relaying how they got my contact info helped to begin the verification process to make sure all participants were actually police officers. During the course of the interview, after initial email contact, I was able to further verify that those who spoke to me were active police officers.

4.7.1 American Officers

For this research, I had 20 American participants. As highlighted in figure 4.1, I had 15 cisgender participants and 5 trans participants. Initially, I began seeking my first research participants by emailing 65 officers from a federal bombing training programme that I had attended with officers from across the United States. Out of those 65, only 4 replied to me agreeing to help with my research. For the additional American participants, I sent out emails directly to US police organisations. These police organisations included:

Emerald Society

Fraternal Order of Police

Gay Officers Action League

International Association of Women Police

National Association of Police Organizations

National Black Police Association

National Native American Law Enforcement Association

I received very minimal participation from these police organisations. Therefore, I started emailing major police departments from all 50 states, using contact emails located on their respective agency websites. One agency in particular was located in a large city in Tennessee where I had a few police connections. Initially, this agency responded that they would love to assist and participate in my research after they received a standardised email I distributed to them. During a further email exchange with the chief of police, the chief accidentally cc'ed me in an email in which he was discussing our pending interview with his public affairs officer. The chief's public affairs officer, in the cc'ed email, replied that my research was "too controversial" and "could make the department look bad". I did not reply to the cc'ed email, and thanked the public affairs officer for his time after he sent me a direct email telling me their agency did not wish to participate in my research and wished me luck with other agencies. The public affairs officer also notified me that "under no circumstances are you allowed to speak with any member of our police force".

Facing research resistance, I kept reaching out for participants; I unfortunately received minimal transgender officer participation despite the fact that all information disclosed

would be kept confidential and department names would never be disclosed. Notably, until August 2014, in 29 states out of 50 you could have been legally fired for being gay or trans, as there was no federal law protecting LGBT+ employees. Additionally, during my American fieldwork, a high-media-attention case was being reported in South Carolina where an out lesbian police chief (Chief Moore) was fired by the mayor for an undisclosed reason even though she had served the city for 20 years. It was leaked to media outlets (via WBTW news) that the mayor, Earl Bullard, fired Chief Moore because she was a lesbian (Guequierre, 2014). A recorded telephone conversation between Mayor Bullard and a council member was disclosed:

I would much rather have ... and I will say this to anybody's face ... somebody who drank and drank too much taking care of my child than I had somebody whose lifestyle is questionable around children. Because that ain't the damn way it's supposed to be. You know ... you got people out there – I'm telling you buddy – I don't agree with some of the lifestyles that I see portrayed and I don't say anything because that is the way they want to live, but I am not going to let my child be around. I'm not going to let two women stand up there and hold hands and let my child be aware of it. And I'm not going to see them do it with two men neither. I'm not going to do it. Because that ain't the way the world works. Now, all these people showering down and saying, 'Oh, it's a different lifestyle, they can have it.' Okay, fine and dandy, but I don't have to look at it and I don't want my child around it (Petrillo, 2014).

Further, several states and political factions were still fighting against gay marriage and transgender equal rights openly in American media. While doing my fieldwork it appeared that LGBT+ issues were a hot topic in American culture, and I believed the low interest in participating in my research could be attributed to some people within policing not feeling comfortable enough to disclose their feelings about my research topic.

Undaunted by a year of gaining very minimal American participation, I then started reaching out to American police blogging sites, police forums, chat rooms and LGBT+ police organisations. I didn't have any American trans participants until I contacted the International Community of Police and Sheriffs (TCOPS) and trans officers I had seen in limited American news outlets. One particular American participant who was covered extensively in the news during the course of this research sadly lost her legal battle with her department and was terminated because, as she described it, she was transgender. Her story is explained in the following empirical chapters in detail. Notably, to date she is still fighting to get her job back.

4.7.2 English and Welsh Participants

For this research, I had 19 English and Welsh participants. As highlighted in figure 4.1, I had 10 cisgender participants and 9 trans participants. Initially, I began seeking research participants by sending out emails to the public affairs officers at the 43 constabularies in

England and Wales requesting access to their officers for research purposes⁷². Additionally, I emailed the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) and asked for research assistance. A representative from ACPO forwarded information to LGBT+ liaison officers and other officers who would be able to assist me. I also emailed various police associations in an effort to seek further participants. Below is a list of the associations I emailed:

Association of Muslim Police

Atheist Police Association

Black Police Association

British Association for Women in Policing

Christian Police Association

Gay Police Association

Jewish Police Association

National Trans Police Association

I knew from personal experience that police officers are typically very untrusting of outsiders and are a hard-to-research group. While most of those whom I contacted chose not to participate, they often politely directed me to an individual who could assist in my research. This in turn created a fast-paced ‘snowballing’ effect, with participants contacting me about my research through word of mouth. I found this stark difference between the attitudes towards participation in the United States and in England and Wales to be an interesting research discovery in itself.

During this standardised email process in America, England and Wales, I disclosed my previous employment as a detective within a large police agency in America. I stressed very clearly that as a former officer, I understood how important it is to protect personal identities and their departments/constabularies at all times. Attached to the research consent, I affixed a photo of myself in patrol uniform which clearly showed my face, name, agency and former rank.

⁷² The Gay Police Association refused to assist me with this research due to “a previous researcher’s actions”. I was not sure what that entailed, but I was quite disappointed by their response. Notably, the Jewish Police Association and the Muslim Police Association were very helpful and friendly in assisting and gaining access to participants, unlike the Christian Police Association who were not.

Figure 4.3 Photo Attached to Participants' Recruiting Emails



This photo, used with permission from my previous agency, was taken after I worked the presidential detail protecting President Obama. I believed that attaching the above photo to contact emails sent to potential constable participants would aid in building rapport with those who participated. I chose a photo that showed my smiling face clearly and where I was not wearing a patrol hat, which I believed to portray that I could be perceived as unthreatening, trustworthy, friendly, more approachable and maybe empathic. Officers who might have felt apprehensive about participating were able to attach a face to the researcher, making my role more human, so that I would not be perceived as somewhat anonymous and detached from those I was researching. Additionally, I believed that showing myself in uniform, with my rank and my previous agency affiliation, demonstrated that I was an officer and understood police culture on a more intimate level, and would protect their confidentiality at all times.

It was not until I contacted two trans-specific police organisations – the Transgender Community of Police and Sheriffs (TCOPS) in the USA and the National Trans Police Officer Association (NTPA) in the UK– that I began to get participants who identified as trans. Initially, members of both organisations were very untrusting of who I was and what I was actually researching. I had one organisation run a background check on my previous employment to confirm that I was not a news reporter. Additionally, besides sending out standardised emails, I began attending trans-specific events where trans police might be present⁷³ in a further attempt to make myself and my research known to potential transgender participants.

⁷³ One particular event, the National Transgender Celebration, was held in Manchester and is called Sparkle.

4.8 “Cop Turned Researcher” Qualitative Skills

As a “cop turned researcher”, I possess a specific skill set that was beneficial in conducting qualitative interviews on a sensitive topic. St-Yves (2006) highlighted specific basic interview skills that police officers utilise in investigations, these are keeping an open mind while remaining objective and building rapport. While keeping an open mind and remaining objective should be imperative in any academic and police interview, within policing it is instilled that first contact with an interviewee is often decisive. It is during this first contact that both parties (the interviewee and the interviewer) form initial opinions of one another (St-Yves, 2006). Therefore this subjective perception will have a strong influence upon how the interview unfolds. As such, who I am as a researcher has an impact on how and what is disclosed⁷⁴.

During this process, interviewers often engage in an interview management process which includes reciprocity, rapport-building, and closure of an interview (St-Yves, 2006; Shepherd, 2007). First, typically when we receive something from someone we feel obliged to reciprocate by giving something back (Shepherd, 2007). This is the basis for conversation, relationship building, power sharing, and constructive listening⁷⁵. It is during this process that knowing what to self-disclose is vital. When interviewing areas sensitive in nature, a mutual trust must be established for reciprocation to be successful and to foster a psychological bond. If an interviewee discloses something upsetting or personal, the interviewer must ensure that any conveyed emotion will not be exploited. For example, in one interview I had a participant disclose his negative feelings about gay and transgender identities yet I conveyed to the interviewee that I was not a judgemental listener. For example:

I understand what you are saying, but could you tell me why you believe you feel this way (Researcher field notes, 2012).

In a police interview it would be something like this:

Nothing you can tell me will bother me...I just want to get a better understanding of how and what happened.

This is a common tactic used by police investigators interviewing sexual offenders. If reciprocity fails during the interview, then what the interviewee further discloses will be censored. Therefore, to be a successful interviewer (in policing and research) on sensitive topics one must cope with emergent anomalies, admissions, disturbing and distressing detail without taking it personally.

⁷⁴ This will be revisited in detail in section 4.11.

⁷⁵ See section 4.9.

4.9 Process and Strategy of Interviewing: Power Sharing and Constructive Listening

Building rapport in police interviewing as well as qualitative interviewing is acquiring a delicate balance between what we desire to uncover and what the interviewee agrees to disclose. Prior to asking my questions, I asked for generic demographic information in my interviews. The demographic questions I asked beforehand entailed the individual's rank, age, length of service with the department and location of their respective department. I made sure not to ask any interviewees their gender identity or sexual orientation, since I discovered that officers almost immediately always freely disclosed their status without my inquiry. Also, due to issues that the transgender community has towards voice depth and gender association, I felt that, as a researcher, asking someone's gender over the phone, if not in person, could be perceived as insulting, and I did not wish to upset any of my participants. Further, I intentionally used gender-neutral pronouns during beginning questioning in an attempt not to offend and additionally to determine which pronoun my participant preferred to be addressed as. If I was unable to determine my participant's preferred pronoun, I would address them by their rank and/or preferred disclosed name.

When I began the interviews, I explained the process of the interview and the idea of a theme-based conversation and structured questions. I also reiterated the importance of confidentiality and disclosure. I advised interviewees that I would create pseudonyms for their names and their departments during my research. Further, I stressed that I was less concerned with their actual demographics and more concerned with their personal observations and experiences. During this process, I used constructive listening.

During the process of constructive listening, I allowed participants to talk about whatever they felt like⁷⁶ as long as it didn't stray too far away from my structured research questions. Instead of filling voids of silence within our conversations with needless chatter, I often allowed a small void in silence, and then continued with a question on what my participant had previously disclosed. This is another interview tactic used within policing. Valentine (2007) refers to this process of "empathic distance". Leaving a void in silence allowed participants to reflect briefly and compose thoughts more effectively where necessary. Valentine (2007) further stated that using this process demonstrates and confirms to participants that researchers are hearing and receiving what is being said.

During this constructive listening process, I also used the following tactics which are frequently used in police interviewing: minimal interaction, paraphrasing, and identification of emotions (St-Yves, 2006). Minimal encouragement involves the moderation of encouragements given to the interviewee that you are listening to what they are expressing without interruption (St-Yves, 2006). During interviews I had to be aware

⁷⁶ Sometimes we talked about football (American and European), physical training, rugby, fashion styles, car chases, funny police stories, etc.

of non-verbal cues that I expressed to interviewees during disclosure of sensitive information. For example, when interviewing about cisgender positive or negative opinions of trans identities I often would nod my head to indicate that I understood what was being said. Then I would paraphrase what was disclosed and ask the interviewee to expand on it further. This process assures the interviewee that what was disclosed was understood and is vital to facilitate discussion and rapport (St-Yves, 2006).

When participants disclosed either verbal (i.e. words/ changes in verbal tones) or non-verbal emotions (i.e. crying), I made my empathy very clear. Fisher and Geiselman (1992) stressed that rapport is established by personalising the interview and showing empathy. If I sensed an interviewees tone changed when discussing an experience or event, I stated *I can tell that upset you, can you tell me why you believed that upset you?*. If the interviewee began crying, I promptly stated *I can tell this is very upsetting for you, would you like to stop the interview as I do not want to upset you*. If the interviewee wanted to continue I would follow with *how about we revisit this later and move on to another question*. By giving the interviewee a perceived break from traumatic disclosure, I was able to convey that I carried for their well-being which further built rapport.

As such, questions were used that were intended to trigger the interviewees' narrative potential. Based on the response I received from my first initial structured intro question, I then determined which additional questions I pursued. If I perceived the respondent to speak easily and freely with responses, I then conducted the interview allowing for my respondents to speak freely at length about the structured questions and anything else they felt the need to disclose. This allowed for a more fluid type of conversation which elicited more details in responses. If I perceived the respondent as being restrictive in speaking with a lack of fluidity, then I stuck more formally to the structured interview style, which provided respondents with guidance during the conversation. This explorative-interpretative approach allowed for the interviews I conducted to maintain an interactive structure and allowed for the allocation of power sharing between myself and the interviewee.

This allocation of power sharing, which is one of many tactics used within police questioning (Carter, 2011; Powell, 2002), allowed interviewees the opportunity to discuss concepts and issues they wished to share and explore in relation to my research. Additionally, it allowed for more self-personal disclosure of officer opinions and experiences. The concept of power sharing during my interviews was very important, because police officers are publicly viewed as having more power than any other professional groups in society. Therefore, when I conducted interviews I constantly was aware of this power dynamic. During the interview, I asked structured questions, but often I found that over the course of the interview, either some of the semi-set questions were not relevant and/or the interview focus shifted towards other topics surrounding my research. Regardless, I focused on the structured questions to maintain the possibility of analysis and comparability.

4.10 Collecting Data

The interviewees chose the date and time that was convenient for them and their preferred method for conducting the interview. During the data collection stage I made myself available at all hours of the day; some interviews were conducted at 2 a.m. or later due to time differences. This allowed for the interviewees to secure a comforting atmosphere to discuss any personal opinions they chose to disclose with me. One of the aims of my interviews was to offer participants a degree of control over the research process, which is part of the power-exchange process and encourages a more equal relationship between the researcher and the participant (see: Rappaport and Stewart, 1997). I believed offering my participants a choice in how they could communicate with me was important due to the sensitive nature of my research. As a result of choice in this research medium, my participants chose to be interviewed mostly via telephone while a few chose to be interviewed in person.

4.10.1 Phone Interviews

All interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder for future transcription. Most of the interviews were conducted via telephone, which was my participants' choice, and yielded several benefits. These benefits included a greater sense of empowerment for the interviewee, accessibility, disclosure on sensitive topics and cost savings. I believe these benefits were derived from my interview approach, which placed the needs of the interviewee at the centre of the research.

Sense of Empowerment

By structuring the conversation around the needs of the interviewee, there is the potential to empower the participant. Previous research has found that telephone interviews create a sense of anonymity, which can lead to more empowerment on the part of the participant (Trier-Bieniek, 2012). For example, one interview I conducted over the phone was done while a constable had just done a narcotics raid. As he was waiting on some colleagues, it was convenient for him to talk during that downtime. As he stated, my flexibility and ability to interview him 'on the job' enabled him to talk fully and frankly because he felt I respected his time, for which he thanked me.

Accessibility

Because there was a barrier of face-to-face contact, my telephone interviews led to rich data and allowed me to contact and interview people due to the impracticality of meeting them in person. Additionally, by using phone interviews I allowed my participants to pick a time of day that was convenient for them without them neglecting their duties as police officers. Like Trier-Bieniek (2012), I found that carrying out sensitive interviews via telephone can benefit participants, because they are being interviewed in an environment that is familiar to and comfortable for them, which helps dictate the course of the interview and levels of information disclosure.

Disclosure on Sensitive Topics

I found that when researching sensitive topics, telephone interviews allowed for additional anonymity in comparison to face-to-face interviews. This is consistent with research by Fenig and Levav (1993) and Greenfield et al. (2000). Exploring topics that are painful, sensitive or embarrassing via telephone has been shown to increase data quality and benefit researchers (Sturges and Hanrahan, 2004). Therefore, using a telephone creates a safe barrier of anonymity and protection for those who might feel exposed and vulnerable during the interview process.

This barrier provided a sense of emotional protection to those who disclosed sensitive information. As Fenig and Levav (1993) stated, “partial anonymity granted by the telephone may increase the validity of responses by reducing the embarrassment involved in responding to emotionally or socially loaded questions in a face-to-face situation” (p. 1). In reference to this research, participants disclosed more detailed accounts (i.e. disclosure of medical surgeries, disclosure of specific administrative issues, disclosure of personal issues, etc.) than those that were conducted in person. The anonymity of telephone interviews created a safe barrier for participants to focus on the interview and to be less concerned about any perceived judgements on my behalf. Additionally, telephone interviews allow participants who are reluctant to participate in a face-to-face interview the opportunity to participate. Therefore, telephone interviews make it feasible to obtain data from people who would otherwise not have their views represented (Miller, 1995).

Cost Savings

Telephone interviewing is a cost-effective method of data collection, particularly compared to face-to-face interviews (see: Tausing and Freeman, 1988; Miller, 1995). Financially, I am a self-funded researcher; I did not possess the backing to fly all over the United States to conduct in-person interviews. By using telephone interviews, I was able to collect data relatively inexpensively.

Disadvantages

Phone interviews, despite their benefits, posed two major problems during the data collection for this research. First, during telephone interviews I did not have face-to-face contact and therefore had to rely on intense listening practices and become aware of how participants were answering my questions (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). I was unable to rely on body language to let me know if my participants were upset or misunderstanding the question. Instead I had to focus on how they answered the question I was asking them. If I felt that the participant wandered off and did not give a direct answer, I would often reword and explain the question I was asking further to reduce any perceived confusion. I also asked further questions to clarify anything that I perceived as being confusing during the phone interview.

Second, there were two specific interviews where mobile phone signal ranges came into play. During these two interviews, the mobile phones my participants used kept breaking up and I was forced to ask my participants to repeat what they said a few times. I thought this disrupted the natural rhythm of the interview. In another interview with an American officer, he chose for me to interview him over his work phone in his private office. In this case his corporal that he was supervising knocked on his door, and his police radio interrupted the phone interview twice, which created pauses and interruptions in the interview. Yet, I was able to overcome these disadvantages by using my question format to redirect participant focus.

4.10.2 In-Person Interviews

For in-person interviews, I allowed my participants to choose their location. The locations included a patrol car during a ride-along, transgender PRIDE events, a coffee shop and in two cases my research office. By letting my participants choose their preferred location, I believe it built more rapport with them and also allowed them to disclose sensitive information in areas they felt the most comfortable in.

For the few participants who chose an in-person interview, I made all attempts to ensure that they were in a convenient space which allowed for full disclosure without fear of other parties overhearing our conversation. When I conducted one interview during a police ride-along, there was only myself and the constable inside the patrol car, so what we discussed was not overheard. During the transgender PRIDE events I interviewed my participants in a secure location away from crowds; the Manchester police conveniently had a mobile office that they allowed me to use privately for interviews. I only had one interview at a coffee shop, and I conducted the interview in the corner away from other patrons. For the two interviews that I conducted at my research office, I used a private room during our interviews. During all of the interviews I did my best to ensure privacy and confidentiality by keeping my participants and what they were discussing in adaptable secluded locations. Thus, I do not believe that the location of the interviews had an impact on what or how things were disclosed to me.

4.10.3 Unsolicited: Photos and Second Notebooks/Work Diaries

Unsolicited Photos

During the course of this research some participants sent me several unsolicited photos after their initial interview with me. These photos illustrated how they previously presented themselves and how they currently present themselves. These photos typically were of my participants posing in front of mirrors (commonly known as “selfies”). Initially, I felt shocked by the amount of disclosure I had been afforded by some participants sending me these photos. I quickly realised that the fact that these officers were disclosing more of what they physically look like and how they transitioned, or cross-dressed, could potentially reflect upon my effectiveness as a researcher. Those who

disclosed these unsolicited photos obviously felt more comfortable in what they disclosed to me.

Additionally, in some instances officers who had sent photos pointed out how ‘feminine’ or how ‘masculine’ they appeared, which I perceived as an attempt to prove how they perform their new gender. Examples of this included comments such as:

I think I look pretty good despite having a bad wig.

Or:

On this day no one questioned that I was trans.

Or:

Finally learned to walk in heels this day.

Or:

As you can tell I have been hitting the gym.

The dialogue attached to the photos, at times, was very boastful about the physicality of their gender presentation and how they performed it. I found this very interesting. However, because of personal ethical issues and my desire to protect the identity of my participants, this was not included as a component of this research. Therefore, I did not subject these photos to analysis, unlike the unsolicited second notebooks/work diaries.

Unsolicited Second Notebooks/Work Diaries

Two of my transgender participants electronically sent copies of their second notebooks/work diaries, which chronicled their experiences within policing. This information was analysed and used in this research. I used these work diaries in conjunction with what was disclosed to me during the participants’ initial interviews, which I believed aided in the validity of the stories they had previously disclosed to me. Notably, some of the earliest sociologists acknowledged the value of unsolicited diaries. As Thomas and Znanieki wrote:

We are safe in saying that personal life records, as complete as possible, constitute the perfect type of sociological material (1958, p. 1,832).

Personal diaries provide personal accounts of experiences and beliefs and offer researchers a rare glimpse into a participant’s social life. Thus, they are increasingly recognised as a valuable method in organisational and management research (Van Eerde et al., 2005).

Both disclosed diaries had either photos, locations, dates, witnesses or other details which documented their experiences of trans bias within policing. Both of these participants stated that they believed that their personal work diaries gave better, detailed accounts of

the claims that they had disclosed, which added more credibility to their occupational stories. To protect my participants' anonymity, when presented in this research, demographics are omitted along with names of persons present during the incidents described in their disclosed work journals.

Being a new academic, I often felt conflicted when I reviewed their submitted second notebooks/work diaries. I perceived these diaries as something that was meant to be personal and for the writer's eyes only; it felt intrusive at times looking through their personal words of their experiences. Notably, both officers expressed that they wanted others to hear their chronicled experiences, hence why they are included in this research. One officer in particular told me during our interview that what she had experienced at work was so upsetting that she could not talk about it without crying and instead told me to reference the incident in her work diary. I included this type of research participation as inclusive to the other types of interview data that I used. Therefore, data from these research journals are presented alongside interview data.

Advantages

Diaries (e.g. second notebooks) offer the advantage of immediacy (Symon, 2004) and enable specific recent events to be recalled in sufficient detail to afford new insights into socially complex phenomena (Poppleton et al., 2008). Diaries have the unique ability to capture the particulars that surround an experience in ways which might not be possible using traditional research methods and permit the examination of reported events and experiences in their natural, spontaneous context (Reis and Gable, 2000), which can offset particular problems in giving verbal retrospective accounts (Bower, 1981).

Notably, using diaries allows for the exploration of the meaningfulness of participants' lives in everyday work situations and aids in understanding events from their perspective by gaining detailed descriptions of their experiences, rather than trying to find explanations. This allows researchers to view recorded data from an "insider account" (Poppleton et al., 2008), which captures different levels of meaning that may not be fully explored using standard interview methods. Additionally, I found that when examining sensitive topics, work diaries often allowed for a level of qualitative disclosure that was more convenient and accommodating for my participants. By providing their work diaries to me, my participants were able to avoid verbally disclosing emotionally upsetting or embarrassing information while disclosing relevant data about their opinions and experiences.

Additionally, since these work diaries were unsolicited, what was disclosed was written in a spontaneous manner. These diaries were written without overt financial or other inducements. In essence, what was written was written for personal and occupational reasons; my participants had nothing to gain from me by disclosing them to me. Thus, these diaries were personal and spontaneous. I believe this aided in the authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning in the stories that were disclosed. As my

participants wrote the accounts in their diaries with no intention of showing them to anyone, I regarded them as authentic. The diaries were credible, in my view, because I perceived them to be a sincere “report of the author’s perceptions and feelings” (Scott, 1990, p. 176).

Disadvantages

Second notebooks/work diaries, much like interviews, have some disadvantages. First, when using work diaries as a data source the researcher, unlike in interviews, is not present to prompt participants or request additional information or more detailed responses, which can lead to a potential loss of information (Radcliffe, 2013). I overcame this by first conducting a qualitative interview; I read the unsolicited work diaries and then conducted a follow-up interview on the topics that I thought needed more information or more detail.

Second, issues of accuracy came into play. Since the disclosed work diaries relied upon the participant’s interpretation of interactions, there were questions regarding whether the described events were recorded accurately. Obviously, using a self-recorded work diary relies upon the writer’s personal interpretation of the disclosed events. Once again, I overcame this methodological difficulty by conducting a follow-up interview after reading the disclosed unsolicited diaries.

4.11 Positionality in Research and Analysis of Data

I believe that my experience of having been in policing for 13 years, 12 of which were at a local level and one at a federal level, considerably influenced and motivated this research. As such, my positionality is relevant to the components of my research, because I played a direct role in both data collection and analysis. During my research role, I took two different stances in relation to this approach.

When conducting my qualitative research on transgender constables, at times I felt I had to disclose my personal stance on heterosexism and genderism, which forced me to confront my own personal biases in relationship to this research. On another hand, when conducting my qualitative research on non-LGBT+ officers, I kept my sexuality in the background. Yet, I was able to use my position as an in-betweenner to gain participants and the trust of those who participated, which I believe contributed to a higher rate of disclosure on perceived ‘sensitive topics’ within police culture. Unlike Young (1991) and Dunnighan (1995), both police officers who turned researchers, I do not perceive myself as belonging to a particularly dangerous breed due to my existing knowledge of the police or possessing any threatening power to make public the secrets of police work. Instead, by identifying as an in-betweenner, I believe I was not perceived by my respondents as potentially being a police betrayer.

Notably, researchers conducting attitudinal and behavioural research only see what is presented to them. As such, police are more likely to disclose less about their behaviour if an outsider is viewing them. As Manning (1970) stated, cops are knowledgeable on

how to play the public, how to manipulate their image for different audiences, when to show off, and when to be quiet and cover their selves. Therefore, I believe that my previous tenure as a police officer benefited this research on several levels. As such, this afforded me unique access to and trust from those who participated. In other words, what was disclosed was perceived by me to be more truthful and less politically correct. Second, I was able to use the skills I gained as a police officer/ detective to conduct a more effective qualitative interview⁷⁷.

4.11.1 Being an Insider

Being an insider refers to researchers who conduct research with participants that they are members of (Kanuha, 2000) so that the researcher shares a group identity and language (Asselin, 2003). This allows researchers to gain greater acceptance from participants more rapidly. Therefore, often there is more openness, and there may be more data depth during interviews. Commonality affords access to groups which would be closed to outsiders (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). I found, with this research, that access to participants would have been problematic, if not impossible, had I not been considered at points as an insider to this research. I often found myself during my interviews stating “we” and “fellow officers”, despite the fact that I was a recently retired police detective no longer in law enforcement. I do not think being an insider made me a good or possibly an inferior researcher; instead, it has made me a different type of researcher in the field of criminology.

Two of my research participants, self-admitted homophobic and transphobic officers, felt free to discuss their opinions and views in person despite the fact that they probably perceived that I was gay. I used my previous interview experience as a police detective to build rapport and trust without showing any disregard for or objection to their opinions⁷⁸. As with police interviewing, I conducted my research interviews the same way – it is not about my opinions, but about theirs. Thus, my ability to maintain neutrality during the interview was upheld by my researcher integrity. I acknowledge that I am a supporter of police officers, and I am aware of the negative attention they receive in academic and media realms. But, by acknowledging this bias outwardly and honestly, I believe it adds to the credibility of my research as an insider. This is consistent with what lies at the heart of feminist standpoint theoretical concepts.

4.11.2 Being an Outsider

During portions of this research, instead of being an insider, I considered myself an outsider. This occurred when I was researching transgender police officers and constables. As stated throughout this research, I do not consider myself to be an authoritative expert on the plight of transgender officers. Rather unexpectedly, I found that my role as an outsider, yet also as an insider at times, benefited the levels of disclosure in respect to my trans participants. Some trans officers felt obligated to ‘take me under

⁷⁷ Refer to section 4.9.

⁷⁸⁷⁸ Refer to section 4.9.

their wing’ and show me a glimpse into their experiences while being supportive of my research. Additionally, due to my outsider status, I was able to observe and ask inquisitive questions that an insider to the trans community might overlook.

Often my attempts at trying to remain a detached emotional outsider were much more difficult than I anticipated during the course of this research. I recall a perfect example of the conflict in my role as an insider-outsider researcher when I went to dinner with several trans constables after a PRIDE event in England. We visited a well-known chain restaurant, and immediately I noticed that the hostess sat us away from other patrons and in the corner of the restaurant in an attempt to socially exclude us, even though we were near the gay district. I observed some of the constables get frustrated, and upset, when other patrons began taking mobile-phone photos of us without permission. Additionally, we were denied proper table service that other tables were noticeably receiving. As one constable said: “this is how some people treat us, like freaks; throw us in the corner and avoid us and maybe we might leave the establishment ... but the joke is on them. We are fighters.” As an outsider, this experience alone allowed me to see how hurtful and disrespectful people can be to the trans community. I had encountered social exclusion for being a “butch” gay woman in the southern states, but I had never experienced anything like this. I found myself having to refrain from expressing my opinion towards the rude patrons and staff at the restaurant; I did so to remain objective and to observe how the trans constables responded to the incident. It was then that I found that sometimes I struggled in shifting from an outsider (being cisgender) to an insider (a member of the LGBT+ community and a retired cop). This is similar to what Alder and Alder (1987) described as an “ultimate existential dual role” (p. 73), in that some researchers struggle with the role of an in-betweenener.

4.11.3 Being an In-Betweenener

As previously discussed, who I am and what I have experienced had a huge impact on how I conducted this research, how I explored the topics, why I explored the topics and how I socialised with participants in my research. Without my interactions with the first transgender police officer in my department⁷⁹, I would not have had a passionate interest in exploring this research. Without my personal observations and experiences of being a ‘butch’ gay woman in a hypermasculine environment, I might have lacked empathy towards the experiences of trans officers when trying to explain the meaning of what I explored. Additionally, my role as an outsider to the trans community presenting non-threatening curiosity aided in more personal disclosure of experiences and opinions.

Thus, during this research I perceived that I was an ‘in-betweenener’, moving fluidly from an outsider to an insider during interviews and also during the analysis of this research. I openly acknowledge my awareness of the politics of empiricism and the intersectionality of power dynamics that may have existed between me and those I researched. This

⁷⁹ See Appendix C.

coincides with feminist thoughts on the importance of transparency and positionality in research.

4.11.4 Funny Southern Gay Charm: Using Who I Am as a Researcher Advantage

When I conducted my interviews, I employed a specific tactic of rapport building. I would often start the interviews with ‘cop stories’ that every cop can relate to while drawing upon certain aspects of personality to make interviewees feel more comfortable. Often, I found that who I am as a researcher benefited me during the course of this research. Therefore, my distinct personality characteristics that aided in building rapport and gaining trust will be examined in this section.

Usage of Humour: Building Research Rapport when Talking about Sensitive Topics

A significant amount of literature has focused on the importance of humour in communication (see: Carter, 2011; Jefferson, 1979, 1984). Laughter, which may not necessarily be synonymous with humour, has been considered an important recurrent part of conversational interaction (Jefferson, 1979, 1984) by enabling open talk about personal issues (Jefferson, 1984), affirming relationships (Glenn, 1995) and creating familiarity between participants (Sacks et al., 1974). From my years of police work, I learned very quickly how important laughter is when dealing with stressful, private or intimate details for certain types of individuals. Brown and Levinson (1987) contended that laughter helps maintain social order by identifying and ‘smoothing over’ complaints and potentially embarrassing or offensive talk.

Goffman (1959) stated that humour can help people explore relationships by “putting out feelers” (p. 191) and tests the social climate of acceptability of a situation. Often if I felt the participant was making jokes during our interview, I would exchange funny stories or make comments to encourage laughter if I deemed it appropriate. By doing so, I was able to better understand the boundaries of discussed topics and how not to cross them when speaking about sensitive issues. For example, if a lesbian transwoman was making jokes about her sexuality but not her gender identity, I knew it was safe to joke about sexuality topics but not about gender identity ones.

Additionally, I was able to use humour to emotionally diffuse talk about personal and sensitive information. For example, during an interview with one gay participant, he began to show signs of emotional distress when he discussed perceived social non-acceptance of gay and trans identities within policing. This reaction during our interview was quite an emotional shift, because earlier in the interview he was making jokes and had laughed frequently. Once I sensed that he was beginning to get emotionally upset, I told him:

You know, I told a previous co-worker who treated me the same way that if straight people stopped having gay babies, this wouldn't be an issue.

Immediately, my participant laughed and his tone appeared more upbeat. This, in turn, made him feel more comfortable, and he opened up further dialogue without showing any further signs of emotional distress.

Police Interview Skills and My Sexuality Disclosure: Knowing when to Bite my Gay Tongue

When interviewing the cisgender police population, I typically did not disclose my sexuality or my trans ally status unless asked. During the course of these interviews, all participants (cisgender and trans) freely disclosed their sexuality and/or trans status to me without asking. I learned that not presenting myself as threatening, never asking direct confrontational questions and offering an interviewee a way out can lead to more answer disclosure. If you make your interviewee feel special and allow them to detach from any discussed negative issues, it tends to open up the interviewee's responses. Thus, I would often inquire about observed bias-type incidents without asking about their involvement with them. So, in essence I would give my interviewees a way out of acknowledging personal responsibility for reported bias incidents. This was very beneficial when interviewing cisgender officers, especially self-confessed "homophobic and transphobic" ones.

When interviewing the LGB cisgender population over the phone, I only disclosed that I was lesbian after I was directly asked. I did this tactfully to ensure that participants could explain their perceptions and feelings to me in better detail. I did not want a participant to state, "Well, you understand, you are gay"; I wanted to better understand how work experiences made them feel personally. An example of this is when I interviewed a gay constable who stated that he had been a victim of heterosexist abuse at work. When I asked the constable the specifics about the incidents, he replied:

Well ... there was the one time I was called 'gay boy' in front of co-workers; they used it in a joke.

I found this odd, because I have been called 'gay girl' or even worse during my police career and I did not perceive it as being traumatic. Notably, I didn't disclose to this participant that I was lesbian because he never asked. Therefore, I was able to let him disclose to me why this one incident was so traumatic for him in his context, which allowed me to better understand why he felt victimised by the incident.

When I interviewed transgender participants, I took a much different approach. During my interviews, I operated with complete transparency. I found that disclosing more about myself particularly that I was gay and a trans ally with trans friends, eased any apprehensions my transgender participants may have had. This allowed participants to freely open up about what they disclosed. While building continuous rapport during the interview process, I never asked questions about their gender or their status during transition, or any medical questions. Based on my previous interactions with friends who

identify as trans and my experience of being raised in “the South” (i.e., states in the south-eastern part of the US), I knew that some of these types of questions could be offensive.

Most participants disclosed after interviews that they enjoyed sharing their stories and talking with me. As one research participant, ‘Claire’, stated: “that was almost like therapy”. This is similar to Walls et al.’s (2010) suggestion that qualitative interviews may be perceived as cathartic and therapeutic when researching personal topics. Valentine (2007) stated that interviews can provide relief and reinforce participants’ experiences, therefore creating a comfortable environment where they choose to disclose as much as they wish.

Southern Charm: The Benefits of Having a Unique Accent when Interviewing

Some British and American participants disclosed that they participated solely because they perceived me as being trustworthy and also because they wanted to hear my southern American accent. Thus, the interview was perceived as fun and entertaining for them. As ‘Amber’, a British constable, stated:

I have a family member who moved to the south and I have heard that southern women are not prone to lie, and are about as sweet as the tea they make there⁸⁰.

Sometimes my participants would laugh or comment that they enjoyed how I used words like ‘y’all’, ‘ma’am’, ‘sir’ and ‘ain’t’ (very common regional vernacular). I believe that my non-threatening manner, the tone of my speech and my accent helped to build additional rapport during interviews. Thus, my existence in a researcher role once again aided me during the interview process.

4.12 “I don’t even notice your hearing aids”: Overcoming research obstacles when you are hard of hearing

One of the many obstacles I had to overcome in this research was one that was very personal: my hearing loss. I was torn about writing about this, because I do not like drawing attention to the fact that I am hard of hearing, and I do not want anyone to feel sympathy towards me for this reason. Yet, I realised that I would have to include it because of how it affected the transcription of my interview data.

When I began this research, I had one hearing aid in my right ear, and during the transcription process I realised that my left ear needed one too. I had noticed the tell-tale signs of hearing loss in my “good” ear, my left one, when I noticed that I was withdrawing from conversations in the office because I could not see the lips of those speaking (accents can be tricky when doing this). But after a colleague pointed out that I was looking at her lips more frequently than normal when she spoke, I went to my GP and he referred me to a hearing specialist. After my exam and a hearing test, it was determined that my hearing in my ‘good’ ear had gotten progressively worse, and I was given another hearing aid

⁸⁰ After our interview I gave Amber and others who inquired my family sweet tea recipe.

through the NHS. While my hearing loss is not profound, it was enough that transcription was proving extremely time-consuming. I had to listen to interviews repeatedly, and therefore it was taking me three to four times longer than expected.

Due to my hearing issue, Cardiff University's disability services aided me during my transcription by transcribing most of my interviews. I still had to listen to the interviews after they were transcribed to make sure the transcription was complete and accurate. For ethical reasons I had all the transcribers at the university sign confidentiality statements to ensure that they did not disclose anything they heard in the interviews. I stressed the importance of maintaining confidentiality in this research, because I knew the dangers if media outlets got a hold of my research, since I was researching a sensitive topic which had previously been in the news in the UK. I stressed that some of my participants were fearful that they may lose their job if their statements got out. To additionally protect my digitally taped interviews, I removed the beginning intro section, in which names, agencies, time with their agency and other identifiable information appeared, before I sent them to disability services to be transcribed. I believe that this extra step in protecting confidentiality made connecting the interviews to a specific participant or agency almost impossible.

4.13 Analysing Data

Coffey and Atkinson (1996) suggest that data analysis is not a "distinct stage" (p. 6) of research, but a "reflective activity that should inform data collection, writing, further data collection, and so forth" (p. 6). My interviews collectively spanned eight months, with interviews carried out at different time intervals. During this time, I used what I had previously obtained to guide further interviews during the overall course of this research. Therefore, like Coffey and Atkinson (1996), I did not perceive analysis as the last stage of research. Instead, given that theorisation, data-gathering and –analysing, and data/theory integration is commonly applied within the domain of socio-criminological research (Bottoms, 2008), I perceived analysis as having fluidity during my collection of interview data, because I was categorising, thematically coding, thinking about and connecting disclosed responses throughout the entire research process.

During this fluid process of analysing my qualitative data, I used a thematic type of analysis. This is consistent with Tesch (1990), who stated that the process of analysing qualitative data involves the 'translation' of raw data, which places the researcher as an instrument in the process. Therefore, the researcher is required to engage on their own behalf, which results in a second-level data document, instead of perceiving analysis as an exact science (Tesch, 1990). As previously stated, I acknowledge the role that my identity and my experiences have upon how I analysed my data, hence why it was explored in detail. Therefore, I openly acknowledge that my own theoretical positions and values was embedded in all aspects of this research.

Notably, I do not subscribe to a naïve realist view that researchers can simply ‘give voice’ (see: Fine, 2002) to all research participants. As Fine (2002: p. 218) states ‘giving voice’ “involves carving out unacknowledged pieces of narrative evidence that we select, edit, and deploy to border our arguments”. Consistent with arguments by Braun and Clarke (2006), I acknowledge that these decisions existed during the process of thematic analysis and I openly recognise them as decisions. Therefore, my thematic analysis relied upon my own inductive approach of recognising an important moment or experience that was disclosed and encoding it prior to the process of interpretation (Boyatzia, 1998). Since I relied upon my own inductive reasoning, the data that was identified as a theme was based on how I viewed its occurrence in frequency. In other words, I let the data guide me to determine what a theme was and what was not. Notably, the entire process was reliant upon how I interpreted the transcriptions of my interviews so the data was influenced by my own interpretation.

Despite acknowledging the impact that researchers have upon data during thematic analysis, I found that using thematic analysis possessed more benefits in this type of research than any of its perceived detriments. First “thematic analysis provides a flexible and useful tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 5). Following up on Braun and Clarke (2006), Smith (2015) and McLeod (2011) state that thematic analysis has an increased capability to uncover rich data that other sources may not. Similarly, I found this to be true when examining individual experiences of my participants, their views and opinions, and the reasons why they felt the way they felt. Second, besides identifying and recognizing themes within data, thematic analysis interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzia, 1998; McLeod, 2011; Smith, 2015). Notably, I started this research with a focus on a specific concept: *the experiences of transgender police within police culture*. However, various other topics arose that turned out to be unexpected findings. In other words, I discovered several contributory findings that were not related to my original investigative intention.

Third, thematic analysis is not committed to any pre-existing theoretical framework and can be used within different frameworks. From an essentialist or realist method, thematic analysis can report experiences, meanings, and the perception of reality of participants. From a constructionist method, thematic analysis can examine the ways in which events, realities, meanings and experiences are on the effects of a range of discourses operating within society (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Further, somewhere within the range of essentialism and constructionism (e.g. critical realism) thematic analysis encourages the ways individuals make meaning of their experiences and the broader social context impinges on those meanings (Braun and Clarke, 2006). During the construction of these meanings, focus can retain on these experiences and other limits of ‘reality’ (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Therefore, one of the most positive contributions thematic analysis can make is that it is a method which works to both reflect reality while at the same time revealing and dissecting the surface of said reality.

During analysis, “fracturing” (Strauss, 1987, p. 55) of my data into specific “codes” occurred so “individual pieces can be classified or categorized” (Babbie, 2009, p. 402) and situated within broader (theoretical) ideas and themes (Bottoms, 2007; Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). I established, identified and validated each specific theme while fluidly transitioning from collecting data to defining conceptual categories based on these themes. Subsequently, I clarified the links between the conceptual categories. Notably, I was not using data to obtain meaning; instead I used the recurring patterns in which certain themes emerged in interview transcripts to confirm their importance based what a respondent disclosed. Themes that emerged during data-gathering and –analysis, were simultaneously used to, first of all, provide (increased) focus on collecting data and, second of all, theorising and connecting between the empirical reality and my view and experience of it. All in all, treating data and the coding of it in this way, enabled me to highlight possible problems, issues, concerns and matters of importance to my respondents.

By coding data by hand, I was able to perfect my coding categories. During this process, I gained a better ability to organise the data. When I was coding the data by hand I began to see the patterns that emerged because I was at all times close to the data. Therefore, I felt more connected to my research and the data itself.

4.14 Ethics and Accountability

Procedurally due to the sensitivity of the topic of LGBT+ identity and the participants’ relationship to the police community, it was essential that all data was dealt with in an anonymous and confidential manner. The purpose of this research was not to single out specific departments or specific officers, but instead to focus on generalised policing in the United States and the United Kingdom. Informed consent, maintaining the anonymity and confidentiality of the subject, and protecting my interviewees from harm and deception was obligatory (Lewis, 2003; Bryman, 2004). Keeping this in mind, written informed consent was obtained by all parties involved, and the research abided by the code of ethics laid down by the British Society of Criminology (BSC), the Data Protection Act 1998, the Freedom of Information Act 2000 and the University research ethics committee⁸¹. Further, all participants were given assurances that their details would be kept and their identity would remain anonymous. In relation to conducting interviews with serving LGBT+ officers, it was understood that the upmost confidence in non-disclosure of their information was arranged. All research data presented in this research was anonymised using researcher-created pseudonyms, and all participants were made fully aware of the intent of this research and were allowed the opportunity to withdraw at any point during the process.

Substantively, I faced several ethical issues during this research. As highlighted in section 4.10 I discussed how I used my own traits and own personality to address the sensitivity

⁸¹ See Appendix A for a copy of the consent form distributed for this research.

of this research. There were several interviews in which I felt conflicted in how to react appropriately as a researcher. This included when participants either began to cry when discussing profound events or when discussing personal issues. I was faced with the decision to either stop the interview because our conversation was causing emotional distress to my participant or to use my skills to calm the participant and carry on. Since I was able to calm my participants through different tactics⁸² I made a judgement call to continue to carry on my interviews in these type of situations, I acknowledge that some researchers would have chosen the opposite.

Emotionally as a researcher I was also torn when I had non-LGBT+ participants discuss hatred and even disgust⁸³ when talking about LGBT+ issues. Often when this would occur when I chose to put my personal feelings aside and focus on what I believed was more important than how I felt, uncovering the truth or what I perceived it to be. As a gay researcher examining negative bias towards the LGBT+ community, I often felt insulted and disappointed in myself that I did not voice my opinion about the negative comments or attitudes that were displayed to me. While I observed that this upset me, I chose to continue on with my research because I believed it to be more important than any temporary uncomfortableness that I faced. So ethically, my personal boundaries were challenged.

Secondly, during the course of my research I was often unexpectedly asked out for a few dates after interviews. This is when I was faced with the issue of how much to disclose to my participants about my personal life. As previously discussed in this chapter if my sexuality was asked by a participant I would disclose it, yet when a participant crossed a more personal line of asking me out I disclosed that it violated my ethical boundaries as a researcher. Often I would respond with “I am flattered, but as a researcher it isn’t appropriate”. Sometimes this tactic would not work and the participant would say that once my research is done then I would be available. It was usually at this point I disclosed more of my personal life and advised them that I have a partner who would not appreciate me going out on a date with them. I, at all times of the research, believed by handling the situation like this I maintained researcher boundaries while doing my best not to harmfully reject them. Yet, as a researcher it made me doubt if the participant was being truthful to me during the interview because I was torn wondering if they participated with my research because they wanted to or because they viewed it as an opportunity to ask someone out who may have appeared available to them.

4.15 Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) posits that qualitative research should adhere to specific evaluation criteria to evaluate its worth. At the root of this evaluation lies trustworthiness, which is established by credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) contend that these trustworthiness factors are the “naturalist’s

⁸² See Section 4.10.

⁸³ This is covered in the next chapter.

equivalents for the conventional terms ‘internal validity’, ‘external validity’, ‘reliability’, and ‘objectivity’” (1985: p. 300). Techniques for establishing credibility involve prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, referral adequacy, and member-checking (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). To establish credibility, I relied upon prolonged engagement and peer debriefing in respect to the establishment of credibility. As stated previously in this chapter, I was at all times embedded in aspects of this research with my participants. This occurred during fieldwork, during analysis of data, and during a final review of findings. I intentionally did so for several reasons.

First, I wanted to learn more about transgender police culture and police cultures in the United Kingdom. As my previous knowledge was limited to an “insider” view of American police culture, I knew very little about English and Welsh police culture. Therefore, by participating in prolonged engagement, I learned more about these cultures than what could be obtained from years of reading books and journal articles on the subject. By becoming more knowledgeable, I became more oriented to what I was researching and my research context was more appreciated and understood. During this immersion period of prolonged engagement, I also was able to detect and account for any variations or distortions that existed in the data. For example, as previously stated, I found myself starting to blend in⁸⁴ and respondents within the transgender policing community no longer questioned my presence at transgender policing events. Also, as previously discussed I gained trust by imbedding myself as much as possible into these police cultures. Once I became familiar to the transgender policing community, I noticed the trust that I gained aided in further rapport building. This rapport building allowed me access to a non-researched area to a very cautious community. Yet, prolonged engagement does have its limitations. Fears of “going native” is a concern when conducting prolonged engagement with participants. Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that “going native” occurs when a researcher becomes more appreciative of the culture that one is researching which in turn increase the likelihood that professional judgements could be influenced. While Lincoln and Guba (1985) posits that there are no techniques that provide a guarantee against such influences “either unconsciously or consciously; awareness is, however, a great step toward prevention” (p. 304). To overcome this, as previously stated in this chapter, I was constantly aware of my connections to my participants and how this could have impacted my research.

To further establish credibility in this research I also engaged in the process of peer debriefing. The purpose of using this credibility tactic was to allow my peers⁸⁵ who were not connected to my research area to aid in uncovering any granted bias, perspectives and assumptions on my part. This ensured that I was aware of my position toward my data and aided in determining if my positionality played a role in my analysis. Further, it

⁸⁴ I blended in so well during this process that I was given membership into TCOPs.

⁸⁵ Namely my fellow PhD students at Museum Place.

provided an opportunity to test and defend what I discussed in my findings. By doing so, my peers confirmed how I interpreted my data and how I constructed meaning from it was reasonable and plausible. During this process I had several peers examine my chapter findings who were disinterested in my research topic area. This involved criminologists, sociologists, and psychologists alike.

In this chapter, I discussed the issues of prolonged engagement during the course of this research and the fear of “going native”. While I believed I effectively avoided “going native”, limitation concerns were present when conducting peer debriefing. Often when I was given peer feedback I questioned my judgements and insights of how I interpreted meaning. This, at times, created an influential domino effect; these peer opinions influenced me as a researcher, and as a researcher it influenced how I constructed my arguments.

Besides issues with peer debriefing in establishing credibility, the issue of transferability arose. When establishing transferability in qualitative research, the task of establishing a naturalist method of external validity is extremely difficult. Within quantitative research you can establish statistical confidence limits when determining external validity. Within qualitative research, you can only test theories with a description of the time and the context in which they were formed (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This raises an empirical limitation issue because it is unknown if proposed theories hold true in other context, or even in the same context at another time. Thus, qualitative researchers cannot specify any external validity of an inquiry, they can only provide a “thick” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: p.316) description that is needed to enable another researcher interested in making a transfer to reach the same conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility. In other words, qualitative researchers can only present a data base that makes theoretical judgements possible.

When establishing dependability within the context of this research, there were further research limitations. I relied upon several peers to determine the accuracy and evaluate whether my findings, and my interpretations were supported by the data. By using this external auditing process that Lincoln and Guba (1985) posits, some peers who examined my data formulated different explanations for why a phenomenon occurred. This raised the question of which interpretation was more ‘truthful’. This is one of the major drawbacks of external auditing within itself, there exists a reliance upon the assumption that there is a fixed truth that can be accounted for by a researcher and confirmed by an outsider auditor (see: Creswell, 1998; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Merriam, 1988).

4.16 Summary

The chapter examined my methodological ‘investigation’ by examining why, with whom and how I conducted this research. During this process I outlined the contested theoretical underpinnings of my methodology, the reason the data was chosen, the individuals I

recruited to study and why my research took the path it did. Additionally, a large portion of this chapter explored how my own background and social position aided my research.

Although this chapter may increase the level of critical attention as to how I analysed my data, my aim is to openly acknowledge my role during this research in order to provide a transparent and honest account of my methodological process. In other words, I agree with Bourdieu's notion that being reflective is paved with good intentions and is a necessary precondition for scientific research within the social sciences. By providing an open and critical account of my history, my social position and my research practices, I am able to explore different and innovative knowledge claims. As Bourdieu (1994) acknowledged, reflexivity is not a means of underwriting scientific knowledge, but instead provides an epistemological basis for the production of social scientific knowledge.

Additionally, I believe it is naive to assume that a researcher with insider knowledge is not beneficial in conducting objective research. As Popper (1945) argued, if science relied on individual scientists to be objective, it would never be so; because they "have not purged themselves by socio-analysis or any similar method" (p. 217). Rather, I contend that all social science researchers possess some aspect of positionality in their research, which impacts how data is acquired and how it is analysed. Arguably, all researchers have an impact on what they are studying, and sometimes a strong connection to the subject that is being researched benefits knowledge production. I would argue that my position as an in-betweeners and using my position as a research instrument has produced a deeper understanding of my research topics, in turn making a valuable contribution to academia.

This chapter also examined the credibility of this research and how I established it. I adopted Lincoln and Guba's (1985) quality criterion to establish research credibility. The techniques that I implemented were prolonged engagement and peer debriefing. While I highlighted how I used these techniques and their benefits, nonetheless these posed research limitations. As pointed out in this chapter, there were contributions and limitations during the process of peer debriefing, external auditing, and transferability that will be revisited in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Five

“A man who cuts his penis off will never be a woman”: Cisgender Police Perceptions of Transgender Officers

5.1 Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to compare and contrast American officers’ opinions with those of English and Welsh constables in order to explore monolithic and/or non-monolithic perceptions of those who do not reside within binary or heteronormative norms. On a theoretical level, I consider how masculinity is perceived and infused within police culture, conceptualising how cisgender perceptions impact transgender identities within police culture. Therefore, by exploring cisgender (i.e. heterosexual, gay, lesbian and bisexual) police perceptions of gender, this empirical chapter builds a foundation for a better understanding of the social rejection transgender identities face within policing in the following two chapters. This chapter, one of three empirical chapters, draws upon 25 interviews with cisgender officers to answer the following research question:

What are the perceptions of cisgender officers towards transgender officers, and what are the consequences of these perceptions?

This chapter is structured around two major themes that emerged during my analysis of the interview data: (1) categorisations of heteronormative and gender ideologies, and (2) the consequences of their (mainly negative) perceptions of their LGBT+ colleagues and the occupational environment more broadly. First, this chapter starts by examining problematic perceptions that make transgender acceptance within policing difficult for members of the cisgender police population. The highlighted sub-themes that are examined in this section are hegemonic masculinity, perceptions of gender normality and how gender is categorised.

Aimed at an advancement of previous research on masculinity and gender role ideologies within police culture (see: Chapter Two and Chapter Three), this chapter expands upon theories of how the performance of gender (see: Butler, 1990; Connell, 1995; Messerschmidt, 1996; Westmarland, 2001) can influence acceptance within social groups (Allport, 1954; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). This chapter theorises that acceptable⁸⁶ masculinity, regardless of LGBT+ status, equals to perceived competency in performing police tasks. Furthermore, this perceived competency influences integration into police cultures. By advancing further understanding of how these perceptions exist and the consequences associated with these beliefs, it is theorised that recommendations can be made for administrative improvements within policing to encourage the acceptance of those who display less desirable ‘feminine’ traits (i.e. trans feminine and gay identities)⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ This is explored in the following sections.

⁸⁷ This is followed up on in Chapters Six and Seven.

Conceptually, this chapter also explores how cisgender rigid expectations of ‘maleness’ are perceived to be connected to ownership of male gentilia. This ‘maleness’ acceptance is further expressively understood when examining ‘female’ unacceptance within police cultures as previous research (see: Berg and Budnick, 1986; Brewer, 1991; Heidensohn, 1992) has highlighted. Revisiting Chapter Three, ‘female’ identities have been connected to incompetency, promiscuity, and lesbianism (see: Berg and Budnick, 1986; Brewer, 1991; Heidensohn, 1992; Westmarland, 2001). While social advances towards gender equality and improvements in diversity have occurred since these previous studies, this chapter contends that ‘feminine’ identities are still associated with social undesirability within police cultures. Hence, it is further theorised that those who challenge ‘maleness’ (i.e. trans feminine and gay identities), face specific integration barriers in police cultures⁸⁸. The demographics of cisgender participants are highlighted in figure 5.1:

Figure 5.1 Cisgender Participants

	American	English/Welsh	Total
Heterosexual Males	8	3	11
Heterosexual Females	2	1	3
Lesbians	3	4	7
Gay Males	2	2	4
Bisexual Individuals	0	0	0
Total	15	10	25

5.2 Perceptions of Officers

5.2.1 Hegemonic Masculinity within Police Culture

As previously discussed in Chapter Three, historically policing has been perceived as an occupational culture that is infused with hegemonic masculinity, with a distinction drawn between the men’s work of crime fighting and the women’s work of social service activities (Fielding, 1994). Policing, as a masculine profession, adopts the notion that there are “socially gendered perceptual, interactional, and micro-political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine ‘natures’” (West and

⁸⁸ This is explored further in Chapters Six and Seven.

Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). This binary gendered division permeates the expectations of those who wear the uniform and their perceptions of performance abilities in relation to police work. These entrenched binary gender-role stereotypes and assumptions of 'masculine' and 'feminine' have been used to exclude women and those who associate with 'femininity' from job assignments to upper management positions (see Westmarland, 2001). Some researchers even state that the mere presence of women (i.e. femininity) can symbolically undermine the traditional masculine ethos of policing and be perceived as a threat to masculinity itself (Fielding and Fielding, 1992).

With the police masculinity ethos or 'working personality', danger and authority are interdependent elements in policing and individuals must conform to the adoptive culture. Martin (1980) found that women adapt to policing by either emphasising their femininity (e.g. portraying themselves as weak and passive in the presence of male officers) or accentuating the masculine aspects of their personality (e.g. portraying themselves as strong). This masculinity ethos creates a dichotomous relationship between gender ideologies of male and female identities within policing (see: Fielding, 1994; Garcia, 2003) and can arguably lead to binary assumptions about sexuality and gender. Therefore, assumptions about masculinity and femininity can conflict and influence perceptions of 'male' and 'female' identities alongside assumptions about non-binary identities. Frank, an American officer, who best summed up all of my participants' responses, stated:

Police are supposed to be viewed as masculine and tough as nails ... so the more manly you are, the better you will be on the job.

Another American officer, Fred, stated:

You have to be masculine to do the job. You have to fight, be assertive and be commanding. If you do not assert your strengths, this job will eat you alive.

Luke, an American officer, stated:

Masculinity is a requirement for the job. If you don't show it or express it, then you will fail at being a cop.

As Frank, Fred, Luke and others disclosed, there is a perception that if you are not masculine enough, then you will not be viewed as a competent officer. This is consistent with Hunt (1990), who has suggested that those who do not fit within the perceived masculinity constructs can be perceived as a threat to the masculine character of a crime-fighting policeman. Further, this perception that masculinity, i.e. non-femininity, is a requirement within policing was consistent across American and British participants. Simon, a British constable, stated:

Policing requires you to be masculine; it doesn't matter if you are a man or a woman. You can't be weak and passive; you have to be tough and strong mentally and physically.

Peter, another constable, stated:

You can't be weak. It benefits you to be as masculine as possible regardless of your gender.

Further as participants indicated, there is a perception that effective policing requires adherence to typically 'masculine' characteristics, such as being strong and tough, whereas officers socially associated with 'feminine' characteristics, such as being weak, sensitive, subordinate and vulnerable, are not viewed as being capable on the job. As Tom, an American officer, stated:

Transwomen? ... Nope, they want to be as feminine as possible. I don't think they can handle the job.

Tom was not alone in his perception that transgender women portray themselves as unmasculine and are inadequate to perform policing. As Peter, a British constable, stated:

They may have the strength because they used to be a man, but since they are trying their best to not be masculine anymore they are ... viewed as not competent.

All heterosexual cisgender participants, American and British, disclosed that they believed that transgender women would be less competent within policing due to being, as Tom best summed it up, as "feminine as possible". When explored further, participants disclosed that there is a perception of different levels of LGBT+ displayed masculinity. As John, an American officer, stated:

Most lesbian women that serve tend to be more 'manly', for lack of a term, while gay men and transsexuals tend to be more passive. This is not a job where you can be passive – you need to be the one in charge. If you can't appear as an authority, nobody on the street is gonna take you seriously.

Another American officer, Thomas, stated:

We are just now getting used to gay and lesbians within policing, let alone transsexuals ... Lesbians are great to work with, but if you are not masculine enough, then you might not make it.

Jason, another American officer, stated:

Police are supposed to be viewed tough as nails ... I am unsure if a transsexual woman would be able to do this job ... Gay men are not tough enough to do the job, since they are pretty weak ... Lesbians are alright since I have worked with a few of those and they are like one of us. They can talk about women, don't get offended by stupid stuff, and can handle their own in a fight.

Mirroring Jason's comments, Fred, an American officer, stated:

Policing is a tough culture to work in. If you are lesbian, gay or transgender, you will have to face obstacles that straight people don't have to face. I don't have a problem with them in policing as long as they are tough enough to do the job ... I mean, they gotta fight when it comes time to fight – you know, people's lives are on the line. You can't be weak or you will fail as an officer.

Fred further stated:

Lesbians are tougher and are able to do the job better than gay men, because gay men are not tough ... I think transwomen would also be weak too, but I have never worked with one of those before.

Like their American counterparts, English and Welsh constables also pointed out that lesbians are perceived as more masculine than gay men and that passivity is connected to a failure to do a job properly. Kelly stated:

I think the stereotype of a gay female who is very masculine versus gay and transgender individuals fits better with the perceptions of what is needed in policing. You have to be tough or you will not make it.

Another British constable, Peter, stated:

You have to be tough. If you are perceived as challenging what is needed for the job, like being gay or transgender, then they think you are not strong enough to do the job.

Based on participants' responses, there is a perception that masculinity is pervasive within police culture, much like previous researchers found (see: Kappeler, Sluder and Alpert, 1998). Masculinity exists in occupational settings due to the social and historical context of how it is constructed. Often called 'hegemonic masculinity', as described by Connell (1995), it is the dominant form of male reinforcement of power in a dominant cultural and collective form. Further, cisgender perceptions of lesbians within policing are more connected to perceptions of masculinity than gay and transgender identities. By having this masculinity association, there appears to be a perception that lesbians are better placed to work in policing than gay and transgender identities. This phenomenon will be explored further throughout this chapter and the following two chapters.

Revisiting John's, Thomas's, Jason's, Fred's, Kelly's, Peter's and other heterosexual cisgender responses, there appears to be a suggestion that police masculinity is relevant to women, and that unlike gay men and transwomen, lesbians are perceived as more likely to display more accepted forms of masculinity. This coincides with Mark Burke's study (1994b), which argued that it is easier for lesbians within the occupational culture of policing because of the stereotypical assumptions of female masculinity and the perceived connection to lesbianism. Further, Connell (1995) stated that patriarchal culture interprets gay men as lacking masculinity; this interpretation is linked to the assumption that

American and British culture makes about the mystery of sexuality that opposites attract (i.e. heteronormativity).

Theoretically, masculinity's manifestation in policing can be seen in previous research on the division of police work that relegates effeminate officers to 'women's issues' (Barlow and Barlow, 2000; Merlo and Pollack, 1995; Schulz, 1995), and in administrative policies that value competitiveness, aggressiveness, persistence and emotional detachment (Epstein, 1971). As such, participants disclosed that hegemonic masculinity not only influences perceptions of masculinity, but also impacts who will be deemed more successful at certain job assignments within policing. Jason, an American officer, stated:

If you are real macho, then you can join SWAT or a warrant execution team. They only accept the toughest.

Another American officer, Frank, stated:

Everyone knows you have to be tough for the job, but there are higher expectations in SWAT because of the macho-ness of it all. A lot of officers want to go to these units because your fellow officers view you as a badass, you know?

What Jason, Frank and my other American participants disclosed indicates that there is a perception that certain positions within policing have different masculinity performance expectations. All American respondents stated that in units like SWAT and in tactical teams you had to display extra degrees of masculinity to perform the job successfully.

Much like American participants, all English and Welsh participants disclosed that specialised units like firearms and traffic require heightened masculinity than what is typically required within policing. Ian, a British constable, stated:

The macho officers work firearms or traffic. I haven't seen anyone assigned to those units be sissy. You have to be even tougher to be there.

Kelly, a lesbian British constable, disclosed:

Look at the firearms department ... I think the stereotype of a female gay fits better with the perceptions of macho police officer roles ... even the profession of policing. And I think it is a shame. I have heard people, well, my experience is that there is more openly out gay women than openly out gay men on the force ... It is easier for a gay woman ... Perhaps in the firearms department there is a perception that there are less visible gay men and it is easier for masculine gay women.

As Kate, another lesbian British cisgender constable, stated:

On the firearms department which is kind of, for us, one with a culture of a kind of macho-ism.

When I asked Kate and others why certain units are deemed more masculine than others, and why certain more masculine individuals are perceived as being better at these assignments, Kate best summed up other participants' responses:

It is kind of certain jobs come in and ... you don't get an opportunity if you do not fit a certain kind of physical profile. Lesbians fit in better in certain assignments because you kind of roll your sleeves up, and I suppose that is seen as some type of imitation. See how you respond and you do have to be seen as getting stuck in the masculine sort of, kind of role.

Whittle (2000) described a similar process to that which my participants disclosed, indicating how heteronormative gender relations are perpetuated through social and cultural practices and through the adoption of gender roles. These social and cultural practices of heteronormative gender can affect career prospects within policing, as women are typically assigned to more 'feminine' assignments, and males are assigned to more 'masculine' assignments (Westmarland, 2001; Whittle, 2000). Notably, a disproportionate number of women are employed in domestic violence units, sexual assault units and youth units ('feminine' units); alternatively, a disproportionate number of male officers are often found in homicide units, vice units and tactical teams ('masculine' units) (Brown and Hiedensohn, 2000; Martin and Jurik, 2007; Ness and Gordon, 1995; Schulz, 2004). Contributing to previous research (Brown and Hiedensohn, 2000; Martin and Jurik, 2006; Ness and Gordon, 1995; Schulz, 2004; Westmarland, 2001; Whittle, 2000) on the intersectionality of binary gendered expectations and police assignments, as highlighted above, this research found that some women are an exception. This research found that lesbians, if perceived as possessing more stereotypically 'butch' masculine traits, are more associated with and accepted within 'masculine' police assignments than their gay and trans feminine counterparts.

Just like their American counterparts, English and Welsh constables disclosed that there are different masculinity perceptions within police culture and police assignments. As Helen, a heterosexual British constable, stated:

I am not tough enough to be on the firearms unit or traffic, you have to be very aggressive to be assigned to those units ... I do not believe that a woman transsexual or a gay man could do any better, they wouldn't be tough enough.

Kelly, a British constable, stated:

Certain jobs come in and certain people are sent to them and you don't get an opportunity if you don't fit a desirable physical profile. That still happens ... It is easier if you are more masculine when trying to fit into more masculine roles within the constabulary.

What all cisgender participants disclosed (American and British) could be explained by Corsiano (2009). Corsiano (2009) contended that the feminisation of certain specialised

units, coupled with the lack of physical action, high-speed chases and the lack of ‘big arrests’, perpetuates perceptions that officers assigned to those units are more important and thus further ostracises officers assigned to feminine units. Thus, I contend with Westmarland (2001) that masculinity is connected to personal autonomy and a perceived ability to fight/aggressiveness, and femininity, which is synonymous with childbirth, is connected to police roles involving victims who are children or women. Westmarland (2001) described this process as “differential policing” (p. 6), in which women are unable to choose certain career specialties while being manipulated into undertaking policing assignments that are concerned with empathy, families and sexual offences (‘feminine’ units). Thus, cis-women, transwomen and effeminate men who do not appear masculine enough may not be given the opportunity to enter into ‘macho’ units like firearms or traffic.

Comparatively, all participants indicated that expressed masculinity is a common feature within policing and is a perceived job requirement. Further, participants disclosed that they perceived that masculine gay women are abler to perform policing and are more accepted, based on displays of masculinity, than gay or transgender identities. Consistent with Westmarland’s (2001) research, there was a perception among all respondents that certain units were deemed more masculine than other assignments within the police service. Further, Westmarland (2001) suggests that femininity can be devalued in environments where there are hierarchical gender assignments. As discussed in chapter three, Butler (1990) initially described this phenomenon as a “heterosexual matrix”⁸⁹ which maintains inequality between men and women. Connell (1987) and Schippers (2007) stated that inequality between men and women is hierarchical and that there is a higher value on masculinity than femininity. Therefore, those who challenge this hierarchy disrupt heteronormative perceptions of gender. Since masculinity is perceived as a necessary trait in policing, certain police assignments are more desirable than others. This reinforces a ‘heterosexual matrix’, which emphasises heteronormative ideological perceptions of acceptable femininity and acceptable masculinity within police culture. Furthermore, with the acceptability of masculinity and the rejection of femininity, it could be argued that this could lead to the social unacceptability of transgender and gay identities within policing.

5.2.2 Cisgender Normality: Moral Discourses on Gender and Sexuality

Much like previous research (Colvin, 2012; Jones and Williams, 2013; Lyons et al., 2008), some participants in this research disclosed that LGBT+ bias still exists within policing. I had one participant, Jay, who engaged in email exchanges with me. He objected to the morality of my research and LGBT+ existence within policing. Jay, a self-confessed Christian and police officer, sent direct quotes from Leviticus 18:22, Leviticus 20:13, 1 Corinthians 6: 9–11 and Romans 1: 26–28, with a little additional dialogue, to

⁸⁹ See Chapter Three.

my university email⁹⁰. I sent an email back to Jay with an attached consent form and thanked him for his interest in my research, stating that I would love to hear more from him and his opinions about my research. I also notified Jay that by having further contact with me he was consenting to my research, and that what he disclosed from then on would be used for my study. Jay promptly responded with an additional email:

5.2 Screen-shot of Email from an American Participant

Date: 06/26/2013 11:55PM
Subject: Re: Re: STUDY

Actually, i already know what its all about, its a subject that you are covering because you want answers to your own life because you dont even know who you are?
And i do NOT agree with gays or any other disgusting lifestyle, yet alone working along with law enforcement. Big mistake. Working with a homosexual is uncomfortable, annoying, and disturbing.
Homosexuality disrupts, and causes children in this world to be confused. Gays are a bad example to all, and are a disgrace to mankind.
Take notes in your research and do yourself a favor, just stop wasting your time trying to justify your lifestyle, when you know it is wrong. Realize that you are wrong and need to change your ways.
I dont candy coat anything, so if you did not like this reply, or if you are offended by this, than do not ask for information from real people anymore.
You can be fake as long as you want, but one day, you will realize that u are actually corrupting and contaminating the world, and not making it a better place. Your only making it worse.
The truth hurts...but its the truth that will set you free..."

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Similar to Jay's comments, several American, English and Welsh officers stated that they have issues with LGBT+ identities within policing. Fred, an American officer, stated:

If you are lesbian, gay or transgender you will have to face obstacles that straight people don't have to face. I don't have a problem with those people being in policing, I just don't want to know about it ... It's weird, you know? ... I just hate it when they cram it down your throat.

Jason, another American officer, stated:

You can be gay, transgendered or whatever ... but policing is not a friendly environment for those people ... I know some officers wouldn't work alongside one of 'em.

Helen, a heterosexual British constable with 26 years' police experience, stated:

⁹⁰ This email process is explained in the previous chapter.

⁹¹ This email is a direct cut-and-paste of the email that was sent to me on 26/06/2013. I have not altered the spelling, grammar or presentation. "Jay" was emailed a consent form after his first email and he was clearly advised that any further communication would indicate that he consented to participate in my research. This email was sent after he acknowledged this consent.

Gay men tend to go to the more feminine side, so they are not viewed as being as good as the other males ... They face the same type of social exclusion that us women face within policing. But transwomen? ... I just don't understand that. I mean, can you imagine on a flight to Singapore and you got someone on there who is transgender and you got 400 passengers and you got this man with a bra on, there is an appropriateness of when it can be used. I mean imagine, your pilot, on your way to Hong Kong and the pilot walks in with a bra – you would get off the plane, wouldn't ya? You would, you would say turn around folks, let's go back. There is an element of confidence behind it ... There is a professionalism that needs to go with it ... That is why transgender people shouldn't be in policing.

As with other cisgender interviewees, there appeared to be a perception of a connection between being trans and being socially unacceptable and 'unprofessional' due to a failure to adhere to gender role ideologies. This perception of unprofessionalism due to having a trans identity is similar to Connell's (2010) findings of transgender individuals' experiences in non-police occupational roles. Mirroring some of Connell's (2010) findings, Hill and Willoughby (2005) found that perceptions of cisgender individuals towards transgenderism were not correlated with perceptions of masculinity and femininity; instead, perceptions were associated with traditional or dichotomous gender role beliefs. Similarly, Tebbe and Moradi (2012) found that while homophobia and gender role beliefs were strongly correlated with each other, there were different effects on trans bias for both homophobia and traditional gender role beliefs. Tebbe and Moradi (2012) suggested that the relationship between traditional gender role beliefs and attitudes towards both sexual and gender minorities "may reflect a perceived overlap (or conflation) of sexual orientation with gender identities and perceptions eschew traditional sex-types gender role prescriptions" (p. 252). This is similar to previous studies which have linked relationships between gender roles and attitudes towards gay sexualities (Basow and Johnson, 2000; Swank and Raiz, 2010).

Whitley (2001) suggested participants who expressed 'masculinity' possessed more negative attitudes towards homosexuality. Further, Whitley (2001) found that participants' sex and traditional gender role perceptions predicted both attitudes towards LGBT+ individuals, heterosexism and genderism. These studies, similar to what some participants disclosed, suggested that sexual minorities are perceived as threatening traditional gender role beliefs, much like those who exist outside gender binaries (i.e. transgender individuals). Thomas, an American officer, disclosed:

I don't think my co-workers would be open to a transgender officer ... Lesbians though are viewed in a more positive light than gay males because they are feminine acting.

Mirroring American responses, Ian, a British constable, stated:

I think lesbian women are more acceptable than gay men in general because of the sexuality aspect of it ... That is why men are uncomfortable with it ... Men look at the homosexual side of males and transsexuals differently because they have sex between males ... For me it is repulsive.

Peter, a British constable like Ian, disclosed:

The gay and trans thing is kinda gross if you think about it, you know? Not to sound too harsh, but I guess that is why they are not accepted as well within policing. Also gay men and people who cross-dress are viewed as not being masculine enough ... You have to be tough to be taken seriously in this profession.

Fred, from the American east coast, with 15 years' experience, stated:

I don't think that policing is ready for transgender officers in policing. I know myself and other officers think it is weird and strange, but there is also the safety concern ... If someone doesn't bond, other officers may not have your back, you know?

Frank, another American officer, recalled:

We had a transsexual female on our department and she was a hard worker, yet she met a lot of flak from fellow officers. They wouldn't back her up on calls because they thought she was a 'weirdo' and didn't fit in with the rest of us. It was pretty messed up.

What Fred and Frank are describing in the context of social acceptance could partially be explained by the social identity theory. Discrimination, stereotyping and bias reflect, respectively, people's cognitive, affective and behavioural reactions to people from other groups (e.g. LGBT+ police officers) (Fiske, 1998). As proposed by social identity theory, individuals identify themselves based on similar characteristics, like age, gender, and race or, in the context of this research, non-LGBT+ identity. Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) refers to an individual's self-concept in relationship to others. Therefore, based on the assumption that social hierarchies exist within society, different groups are perceived to stand in power and status compared to others (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The premise of this theory is that these groups provide members with a social identity. Social identity theory states that the in-group will discriminate against the out-group to enhance their self-image (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Further, group members of an in-group will seek to find negative aspects of an out-group, thus enhancing their self-image. Herein lies the conflict, as some groups can be perceived as more socially accepted than others. Those who are not viewed as part of the more dominant and more socially prevalent in-group will face social resistance, because they are perceived as an out-group identity.

Even in occupational environments, people typically seek out other people to socialise with whom they perceive to be similar to themselves (Fiske, 2002). Individuals may

identify more with similar people (in-group) than with those who are less similar (out-group) (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). So the potential applicability of this theory in the context of this research resides in non-LGBT+ officers (in-group) and LGBT+ officers (out-group); non-lesbian officers (in-group) and lesbian officers (out-group); non-gay officers (in-group) and gay officers (out-group); or cisgender officers (in-group) and trans-identified officers (out-group). This is how intergroup(s) and out-group(s) can form within the culture of policing.

Additionally, intergroup cultures within policing enable a group of individuals to socialise and discuss similar feelings of bias without fear of disclosure of exhibiting biased behaviour. Within policing this fear of disclosure would be the fear of reported biased language and behaviour to upper administration or an internal affairs unit. Officers socialising in an in-group would not want to betray the group; if they did, then they would be cast out into an out-group. Notably, intergroup members are not only motivated to protect the group to preserve their social status, but feel compelled to justify their group behaviour (dominant or subordinate) through a hierarchical system.

Notably, being considered an out-group identity has consequences. In an occupational subculture which prizes solidarity, this can have profound implications. Officers who engage in this process of socially placing others in ‘out-groups’ can lead to a safety issue within policing. Therefore, being perceived as socially incompetent by colleagues, for example by showing ‘feminine’ emotional vulnerability, can lead to ostracism from the same officers who may have to provide assistance during a patrol. This process is commonly referred to as ‘blackballing’ in police slang and is an example of treatment towards those who do not conform to the dominant ‘police persona’ through the process of disassociation. For example, an officer might choose to avoid providing assistance to an officer who has been branded a social outsider because they do not conform as expected. Colvin (2009) referred to a similar process, which he titled a “weak link” (p. 89), in which an officer might be more likely to have their safety compromised and to reduce overall group cohesion among officers.

Some heterosexual cisgender officers perceived that any individual (deemed members of an out-group) who challenged stereotypical gender role perceptions of femininity and masculinity was classified as transgender, regardless of their sexuality. Tom, an American officer, stated:

I always thought that gay people were just born in the wrong body, you know? I mean ... a lesbian obviously wants to be a man and a gay man wants to be a woman. So, I guess someone being transgender is not as weird as a gay guy acting sissy, you know? I know it sounds bad, but I think that is what the whole gay thing is, they are confused about their gender or something.

While heterosexual cisgender participants disclosed various degrees of non-acceptance of LGBT+ identities within policing, alarmingly, members of the LGB policing

community expressed that they had similar issues with social acceptance of transgender identities in general. Ann, an American cisgender lesbian, stated:

You know what the T in LGBT stands for, don't ya? It means tagged on ... Transmen are different than us, obviously ... They are often perceived as butch women trying to grow a penis. Some transmen still come to the gay bars and try to pick up women. Me and my butch friends are like, "Why are you here?"

Ann's statements were mirrored by other American cisgender lesbian officers I spoke to. As Tiffany stated, they have a hard time understanding transmen:

I just don't get it; you can be a butch woman and still be accepted within policing. I guess I just don't understand the transman thing. It is odd for me since they still want to associate with 'butch' lesbian culture ... They are nothing like us, though ... It really confuses straight officers; you know?

Tiffany, a self-identified 'butch' lesbian, described how she has been compared to a transman in the past:

It is insulting when people ask me if I am trans; I am not. I am a woman and I love being a woman. I think transmen damage butch identities ... They bring us down when we are trying to portray positive lesbian identities within policing ... I mean, I don't have a problem with them; it is just I don't know if they belong in policing due to their lack of acceptance from non-gay officers.

When examining perceptions of transmen, much like their American counterparts, English and Welsh cisgender constables who identified as lesbian stated they possessed socialised conflict when accepting transgender identities. As Zoe, a British constable, stated:

I hate it ... I mean, they say they are separate than us and get defensive when you use the wrong pronoun. I had to tell a colleague, 'Listen – I have known you for years as a she; it is going to take a while to get to know you as a he.' I just don't get why they come to the bars and still associate with gay women if they want to be seen as men ... You know, it is also insulting sometimes when people assume I am trans because I am butch. I mean, I am a woman. I am not confused about my gender and I belong in policing.

Beth, like Zoe, stated it is common for 'butch' officers to be associated with trans masculine identities:

I have had co-workers in the past ask if I am trans because I am butch. I am not. It is a little insulting, because most straight people just don't get that there is a difference between gender identity and someone's sexuality.

As highlighted by Zoe, Beth, Ann and Tiffany, out of all the lesbian participants (n=7), four disclosed conflict in their perceptions of trans masculine identities.

5.2.3 “Girls have vaginas; boys have a penis”: Perceptions of Transitioning Genders

Garfinkel presented a case study of “Agnes”, a patient of his who wished to obtain a sex reassignment surgery. “Agnes” presented herself as male until the age of 17; then at the age of 19 she began presenting herself as female. Garfinkel (1967) used her case as an “occasion to focus on the ways in which sexual identity is produced and managed as a ‘seen but unnoticed’, but nonetheless institutionalized, feature of ordinary social interactions and institutional workings” (Heritage, 1984, p. 181). This case study illustrated how the working of what we perceive as gender is a social practice within culture. In the “Agnes” case study, Garfinkel (1967) disclosed that there are distinctions between the possession of a penis or vagina as a biological event and a cultural event in which either genitalia are possessed (Kessler and McKenna, 1978). Socially, genitalia can be perceived as being possessed physically or can be perceived culturally if the person feels entitled to it and/or is assumed to have it (Garfinkel, 1967). Bornstein (1994) reformulated Garfinkel’s (1967) notion of the primary components of social attitudes towards gender as:

- 1) Genitals are perceived as the sign for gender (males have a penis; females have a vagina).
- 2) There is a social perception that there are two, and only two, genders (male and female).
- 3) One’s gender is invariant; if you are female/male, you always were female/male and you will always be female/male.
- 4) Genitals are perceived as the sign for gender (males have a penis; females have a vagina).
- 5) Exceptions to these social perceptions of gender will not be taken seriously (seen as jokes, pathology, etc.).
- 6) There are no transfers from one gender to another.
- 7) Socially, everyone is classified as a member of one gender or another (there are no cases in which gender is attributed).
- 8) Males and females exist independently of criteria for being male or female.
- 9) Membership, or association, in one’s gender or another is socially perceived as “natural” (Bornstein, 1994, pp. 46–50).

What Bornstein (1994) referred to as “natural” refers to socialised perceptions that gender is perceived as binary as “a natural matter of fact”, and any deviation from socialised perceptions of such are regarded as “strange” (Garfinkel, 1967, pp. 123–124). As Bornstein (1994) stated, “it has little or nothing to do with vaginas. It’s all penises or no penises” (p. 22). Therefore, perception of gender could equate to an absence of a penis to the defining characteristic of a female. Kessler and McKenna (1978) found that:

...the presence of a penis is, in and of itself, a powerful enough cue to elicit a gender attribution with almost complete (96 percent) agreement. The presence of a vagina however does not have the same power. One third of the participants were able to ignore the reality of the vagina as a female cue (p. 151).

Much like Bornstein (1994), Garfinkel (1967), and Kessler and McKenna (1978), all of the participants discussed possessing a penis as being a primary characteristic of ‘maleness’. Prior to this research, I had expected a finding of this nature, but what I did not anticipate was that LGB participants held similar perceptions towards transmen as did heterosexual cisgender males. As Stuart, a British constable, stated, sharing views similar to those held by all of my gay cisgender participants:

... don’t get me wrong, I respect transmen. Hell, some of them are kinda hot, but they are not real men.

When I asked Stuart why transmen are “not real men”, he further stated:

They don’t have a penis; they were not born with one ... Just because someone says they are a man, doesn’t make them a man. I mean ... I should be more supportive, but they are just one step above a butch woman.

Tim, a gay American officer, stated:

Transmen, while some may look good, are not real men. They don’t have a penis; you know ... that is why I would never date one. They don’t have normal working male anatomy, you know?

Luke, another American officer, stated:

I think it is all weird. I mean, I don’t understand why gay men get dressed up as women and think they are women. I have heard stories about some men cutting their penis off and getting boob jobs ... just like transwomen will not be real women, transmen will not be real men.

Notably, all cisgender American male participants (regardless of their sexuality) disclosed difficulty in deciphering the difference between ‘butch’ lesbian identities and trans masculine identities. As Fred, whose statements aligned with other American cis-male participants, stated:

Is there such a thing as a transman? I thought that was just a butch lesbian.

Here Fred, like all cisgender male participants, associates ‘butch’ lesbians with trans masculine identities. Levitt and Ippolito (2014) described this phenomenon as the “transgender rubric (e.g. cross dresser, transman, transwoman, butch lesbian)” (p. 1); those who challenge the social perceptions of gender are perceived as being similar, regardless of gender presentation. Fred’s sentiments were echoed by others. As Thomas, an American officer, stated:

Do transmen have a penis? ... I mean, I just don't know ... How can you be a man if you don't have a penis? ... Seems to me that you are just a really butch woman if you don't have a penis.

Peter, a British constable, much like all of my participants, stated that unlike transmen, transwomen are perceived as gender mutilators:

What kind of guy cuts his penis off? Doesn't he know he will never be a real woman? I just don't get it. I don't have a problem with lesbians, but a man who cuts his penis off ... I just don't get.

Helen, a British constable, disclosed:

If you cut off your penis, you are abandoning your manhood ... but you are not a woman, a real one that is, and you definitely are not a man anymore.

Some constables stated that they had issues with understanding the difference between gay men and transwomen. Simon, a British constable, stated:

I don't think there is much difference between a gay man and a transsexual, because they are both biologically male and act feminine.

Like Simon, Peter, a British constable, stated:

I think transgender women are just like gay men. They just take it up another level.

While gay sexuality could be considered socially conflicting in respect to the social ideology of dichotomous gender roles, participants indicated that transgender identities are more commonly perceived as gender betrayers compared to LGB identities. Further, some American, English and Welsh officers disclosed a social repulsion towards trans feminine identities based on the perception that they alter their male genitalia, a gender taboo. So once again, like their American counterparts, English and Welsh constables disclosed that they perceive the possession of certain ‘male’ or ‘female’ genitalia as a defining characteristic of a person’s gender regardless of their gender identity. With the betrayal, or, in this case, the physical altering, of genitalia assigned to an individual at birth, they are perceived as a gender traitor. Therefore, this threatens perceptions of

heteronormativity and binary gender ideology. As a result of these categorisations, it is reasonable to conclude that there are consequences of these perceptions.

5.2.4 Gender Categorisations: Your Job or Mine?

Blumfield (1992) argued that men overemphasise masculinity in certain cultures because any suggestion of displaying traditionally 'feminine' traits like gentleness or sensitivity encourages colleagues to perceive them as feminine or non-heterosexual, whereas heterosexual women within policing feel pressured to demonstrate masculine traits to prove their abilities (Zimmer, 1987), and in contrast lesbians may feel the need to assert their femininity (Miller, Forrest and Jurik, 2003).

Schneider (1989) and Martin (1980) stated that lesbians may feel the need to display their femininity in order to avoid hostile homophobic confrontations at work. Female officers, straight and gay, recognise that policing allegedly requires 'masculine' characteristics like assertiveness, strength and competitiveness. Female officers, by acting in typically masculine ways, might provoke suspicions about their sexuality, whether they are lesbian or not (Burke, 1993; Pharr, 1988). Notably, all the American, English and Welsh cisgender heterosexual females who participated in this research disclosed similar opinions.

Further bolstering this concept, all cis-female participants disclosed significant difficulties in expressing so-called 'femininity' on the job. All of these officers disclosed that women in general, or anything associated with femininity, were viewed more negatively within police culture. Ellen, an American lesbian, summed up what almost all female cisgender participants disclosed:

You are either a dyke or a bike ... It is hard to be a woman in policing, let alone being a gay woman. Christ, I cannot imagine what it is like to be a transwoman.

Ellen, like other cisgender females, stated that the choice for women officers seemed to be portraying yourself as either a masculine gay woman or a hyper feminine straight woman (potentially giving the impression of sexual promiscuity). As Ellen continued:

I think straight women have to sleep around to prove that they are not gay to fellow officers. I know some women who hoe around to gain advancement, which is tragic ... If you sleep with the right person, you will not get a bad job assignment, but if you are a gay woman they will typically leave you on the streets longer or give you an assignment to SWAT if you are tough enough.

Helen, a British constable, stated:

You have to be five times tougher and stronger to make it as a female cop. When you do, you also remind the blokes that you like men also, since most women in policing are perceived as being a lesbian.

Ellen's and Helen's quotes were a very familiar theme in this research that was persistent across American, English and Welsh participants. Interestingly enough, the only individuals who did not mention this phenomenon were cisgender heterosexual males.

Martin and Jurik (2006) found that lesbians felt that they had to make extra efforts to prove themselves as competent officers, and sought social acceptance by separating themselves from 'typical' (heterosexual) female officers while proving that they are "tough crime fighters" (p. 74). Vic, a heterosexual American female officer with 10 years' experience, stated:

I made detective because I worked hard and fought. I didn't sleep around like the other straight women around here. I hear the quote all the time: "You are either a dyke or a bike." But I am neither, which is rare in policing. I can be a tough woman and a good cop despite who I sleep with.

This finding is similar to previous research on gender typologies within police culture (see: Berg and Budnick, 1986; Brewer, 1991). Anthony (1991) stated that there is a double-edged sword in policing where women are demanded to be masculine, whilst at the same time female officers who display equal prowess are trapped "safely in the pigeon hole of lesbianism" (p. 4). Gender typologies within police culture tend to be similar and consist of two types of perceptions of policewomen: those mentioned in this common quote (called 'pseudo-masculine' by Berg and Budnick, and 'Amazons' by Brewer); and policewomen who are viewed as traditionally feminine (called 'feminine' by Berg and Budnick, and 'Hippolyte' by Brewer). Heidensohn (1992), interestingly enough, did not use any typology, but instead referenced a policewoman's quote when she was describing how she was perceived by male colleagues:

There are two stereotypes for women; the hooker and the dyke. There is no good stereotype for women and both are sexual (p. 140).

Based on the responses of my participants, either being hyper feminine (e.g. sexually promiscuous) or being a masculine gay woman is a defining characteristic of 'femaleness'. Tragically, despite social advances towards gender equality and the progress of time between previous studies, the perception of female identity as 'dyke or bike' still holds true today according to cisgender participants.

5.3 Consequences of Perceptions

5.3.1 Gay and Transgender Hard Targeting: Bias Patrolling of LGBT+ Identities

This section examines general perceptions that heterosexual cisgender participants disclosed about collective LGBT+ identities. By examining how straight cisgender individuals perceive LGBT+ identities outside policing, conceptually we can better understand attitudes towards acceptance and how they can translate into occupational

acceptance of transgender police identities. Previous research on police perceptions of LGB identities has focused on shared perceptions within the workplace (Colvin, 2009). Therefore, shared perceptions build on the notion that individuals' perceptions are often communicated to other people both inside and outside of the organisation (Colvin, 2009). Therefore, an individual's perceptions are also shared and influenced by an individual's membership in specific groups (Bolton, 2003).

Perceptions of the workplace have been considered for different researched groups, for example Black officers (Bolton, 2003; Essed, 1991; Leinen, 1984), Black and Asian female officers (Holder et al., 1999), and Latino officers (McCluskey, 2004). Therefore, individual perceptions may impact cohesive group perceptions in monolithic police environments (Colvin, 2009). Further, if perceptions towards the LGBT+ community are shared, it can have a dramatic effect on the culture, mission, operations and productivity of an organisation (Colvin, 2009). This "dramatic effect" that Colvin (2009) discussed was noticeable when participants discussed the concept of LGBT+ hard targeting.

Officers on patrol or those assigned to specific units have the freedom to choose who, what and when they wish to engage in proactive enforcement. In policing circles this is called selective enforcement (i.e. hard targeting). Hard targeting often occurs within policing because policing itself relies heavily on discretion. If police have a specific bias towards certain groups of people, they have the freedom to target them for discretionary enforcement. Further, contact between LGBT+ individuals and police is often dictated by a need to enforce what is perceived as 'normative' sexual behaviour. Hard targeting can occur when enforcing public sex offences, while dismissing heterosexual public sex offences or through illegal stops of LGBT+ identities (Stotzer, 2014). Hard targeting also involves the frequent police raids of gay bars and establishments (see: Chauncey, 1994; Loughery, 1998) to enforce public order violations while not targeting non-LGBT+ communities for similar violations. Notably, this concept of hard targeting can lead to allegations of bias and discrimination towards the LGBT+ community, and more specifically the transgender community.

American heterosexual cisgender participants disclosed that they had mixed feelings over patrolling members of the LGBT+ population. Most officers disclosed that they have observed the gay and trans feminine community being specifically aggressively targeted by fellow colleagues because they are LGBT+, as Thomas, an American officer, said:

Everyone has seen someone do it; now I haven't, but I know other officers who do.

Robert, an American officer like Thomas, stated:

Gay and transsexual people are often targeted by officers because they engage in certain public acts. If you do things in public, like the gay and trans people do, then you are much more likely to be targeted.

Robert, like others, disclosed that they perceived gay sexualities and trans identities as more likely to violate public sex laws, and that is why they are heavily targeted by the police. Most officers who participated in this research disclosed that they target gay and trans feminine communities specifically because they violate heterosexual norms and for these types of crimes, as Thomas stated:

I know in (region omitted to protect anonymity) they target them because they hook up in their cars. It is not the best idea to do that with kids around, so those guys enforce and look for them.

Jason, an American officer, stated:

It is pretty well known that gay and transgendered people go to public parks to have sex. Here in (a major city) it still goes on. You don't want kids to see that stuff ... They use the internet to post where they are meeting up and then they have random sex in public. I know not all gay and transgendered people sleep around like that, but I believe a majority do.

Like their American counterparts, some English and Welsh heterosexual cisgender participants also revealed that they still engage in hard targeting of LGBT+ identities while on patrol. Tony, a British constable, stated:

Gay men are somewhat promiscuous and you have to patrol those areas more ... where they have public sex or at the bars. And most transwomen you see walking around are also prostitutes.

Tony further disclosed a story from when he previously worked for the London Met patrolling areas frequented by gay and transgender individuals. Tony stated:

There was a big issue with underreporting of male rape going on in London in general ... so there was a big drive towards going to the communities and exposing that so we could find out the true extent of what was going on. But there was also an issue with a lot of gay sort of ... um ... sections of the community that was raping straight males, so there was that type of competing imbalance going on ... Because of that, I still feel obligated to patrol those areas.

Here Tony believed that LGBT+ targeting within London⁹² was conducted to protect straight victims from sexual assault committed by gay suspects. Burke (1993) in *Coming out of the Blue* mentioned this briefly when he examined how LGB constables negotiate police culture while being taxed with patrolling cottaging areas. Notably, Scarce (2001) contends that the fears typically associated with gay-on-straight rape are greatly

⁹² Tony was responsible for patrolling the area of Clapham Common. As Burke (1993) stated, this area historically has been a known area for gay male cruising and cottaging.

exaggerated within society. Tony, who is now working with a different constabulary in the UK, Tony went on to say:

There is a lot of male activity and transsexual activity, which I deem as quite seedy. Because instead of being like you know with a normal partner ... there were a lot of extreme levels of public ... um ... sexual activities going on with males and people dressing up as females.

Tony further stated that he felt compelled to use more proactive enforcement of areas frequently used by members of the gay and trans feminine community:

I think men look at the homosexual side of males differently because they have sex between males ... The same goes for transsexuals. For me that is repulsive. I can't see why those sections of the gay and transgender community go into toilets and cottages. I can't see going into parks where kids play and give each other blow jobs or have intercourse. I don't understand that.

Here Tony is comparing gay and transgender sex and seeing them as similar in nature, and to him it is “repulsive”. Tony’s feeling of “repulsion” could be explained by previous studies of other self-confessed “homophobic” individuals. Adams et al. (1996) found that self-confessed “homophobic” individuals might claim that gay sex acts were repulsive, but that such claims proved not to be consistent with their physiological reactivity. Adams et al. (1996) exposed “homophobic” participants to sexually explicit erotic stimuli of heterosexual and LGB videotapes while they were wearing a mercury-in-rubber (MIR) circumferential strain gauge⁹³. Adams et al. (1996) found that “homophobic” men showed an increase in penile erection to male homosexual stimuli, unlike their “non-homophobic” counterparts. Adams et al. (1996) theorised that “homophobic” individuals perceive gay sex as repulsive because it is a threat to their own homosexual impulses, causing repression, denial or reaction formation. Notably, towards the end of our three-hour interview, Tony stated:

Gay men fancied me ... I questioned myself as to whether or not ... you know ... if perhaps I was gay myself.

Tony went on to tell me how he targeted public toilets at night to arrest gay and trans feminine individuals:

I would go up there and they wouldn't stop. I literally had to pull them apart. There is nothing worse than one bloke with his ass and another being semi-erect having his trousers around his ankles and the other bloke cross-dressing and

⁹³ This is the same instrument used to measure sexual offenders’ responses while in prison, and during their probation, to ensure they do not have a sexual arousal response to child pornography.

looking at me, like, 'What the fuck are you gonna do about me?' I would just pull them apart and lock them up.

I asked Tony why he targeted the areas where he knew 'cottaging' activities took place since he found gay men and trans feminine identities "sick", "seedy" and "disgusting", and he stated that he felt obligated to enforce public indecency laws and to prove to colleagues that he wasn't gay himself. Tony further stated that witnessing and enforcing these incidents of public indecency affected his perception of gay and trans communities. Further, he stated that it made him resent pockets of the gay and trans community. When I asked Tony why he believed he became, as he described it, "homophobic", he stated that it was not police culture that made him feel that way; instead it was due to his previous negative encounters with members of the gay and trans communities while on patrol. This will be further explored in the conclusion of this chapter when theoretical contributions are examined.

Despite Tony's personal opinions on why members of the gay and trans feminine communities are specifically targeted by the police, some constables also disclosed that gay and transgender targeting is still commonplace, and in the past it was a constabulary policy in some forces. As Peter, a firearms commander, stated:

For example, five years ago one of our policies, it was horrendous, was to target toilets used by gay males and transgender individuals and try to go catch them potentially having sex in the toilets. Some constables still target them despite the changes in our policies.

Further, Peter stated that his constabulary had an issue with a prostitution "cruise house", and his force recently started using the same type of enforcement practice in areas frequented by gay and trans feminine individuals. Peter stated that his constabulary enforces lewd behaviour crimes by "policing them from the outside". As Peter stated:

If we got any issues in those areas we use CCTV and have appropriate cars that deal with LGBT+ people, because we don't want to be offensive ... It is the same for prostitutes as well.

Peter's comparison of LGBT+ public sex activities with prostitution was not just unique to his interview. Several participants disclosed that their encounters with the gay and trans community were often associated with prostitution offences. As Fred, an American participant, stated:

Most, if not all the, transwomen I see on patrols are prostitutes ... and if you see a gay man standing by himself on the corner, he is probably a prostitute too.

Consistent with previous research (Grant et al., 2011; Lombardi et al., 2001; Stotzer, 2014; Xavier, 2000)⁹⁴, participants disclosed that LGBT+ identities are more likely to engage in acts of prostitution than heterosexual identities.

Interestingly, a New Zealand study indicated that police have learned to read visible bodily cues identifying a body as LGBT (Pratt and Tuffin, 1996), and thus they target them. Police (n=8) in this study stated that they read gay male bodies as ‘effeminate’ in terms of “an effeminate way of speaking, an effeminate way of walking and standing (swinging the hips and bending the wrist)” (Pratt and Tuffin, 1996, p. 61), and closely aligned these bodies with sexual deviance (sadism and masochism, paedophilia, promiscuity). Several police also disclosed similar comparisons. Simon summed up other British constables’ statements:

Gay men and transvestites typically engage in more obvious acts of prostitution. It is well known that most transvestites and transsexuals you see on the street are prostitutes ... It is easy to spot a transgender because they stand out ... When it comes to gay men you can tell by the way they move or talk sometimes ... you know ... kind of feminine acting.

Previous research on heterosexual officer attitudes indicates that bias exists within policing towards LGB individuals (Bernstein and Kostelac, 2002; Bernstein and Swartwout, 2012; Buhrke, 1996; Burke, 1993, 1994; Colvin, 2009; Colvin, 2012; Jones and Williams, 2013; Leinen, 1993; Lyons et al., 2008; Miller et al., 2003). Yet, some participants indicated that officers also target the transgender community alongside the LGB community.

5.3.2 Changing Perspectives: After-effects of Working with Trans Cops

A majority of my American participants disclosed that they have never worked with transgender officers; however, two currently work alongside a transgender colleague. Richard, an officer from the West with 10 years of police experience, stated that transgender officers are accepted within his department because there are two with his agency alone. Richard stated:

No one bothers either one and takes them as seriously as they would other officers; it is pretty much a non-issue.

Although a very small sample, it was notable that officers, like Richard, who work closely with a trans-identified officer seemed to have a better understanding of trans identities and existence than those who did not. As John, an American officer, stated:

⁹⁴ This was examined previously in American officers’ responses in this section. Further, Chapter Two explores this at length, and it will be revisited in the conclusion of this chapter.

We are more acquainted with their lifestyle, I suppose. People tend to reject and fear what they don't understand – we understand it.

As described in Richard's and John's interview quotes, a better understanding of transgender identities was attributed to direct interaction with a member of the transgender community, specifically with a fellow officer. This could be further explained by notions of Allport's intergroup contact theory (1954).

Allport (1954) theorised that positive effects of intergroup contact occur in group situations where there is equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and the support of authorities, law or custom. These positive effects change intergroup relationships through the changing of behaviour, by generating affective ties and through in-group reappraisal (Allport, 1954). In other words, by working alongside a transgender colleague, officers can generate affective ties. Therefore, a social group that was unfamiliar becomes more familiar. This social familiarity allows for a better understanding of social rights, thus making social acceptance easier, since the affected group is not deemed as a foreign concept anymore. Notably, familiarity does not remove bias; instead, it leads to more social familiarity, which over time can change a person's social perceptions.

When looking at the culture of policing as a subgroup, much of the intergroup cohesiveness that makes up the solidarity culture that officers have towards each other could be connected to Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory. Allport (1954) theorised that positive effects of intergroup contact occur in group situations where there is equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and the support of authorities, law or custom. These positive effects change intergroup relationships through the changing of behaviour, the generation of affective ties and in-group reappraisal (Allport, 1954).

Previous research (Eskilson, 1995; Herek and Capitanio, 1996) found that the intergroup contact theory is very applicable to surrounding members of the non-policing LGB community, but there has only been one examination of whether the theory applies to transgender individuals (Walch, Sinkkanen, Swain, Francisco, Breaux and Sjoberg, 2012). As such, this theory has been consistent across other subgroups (for example: Anderson, 1995; Drew, 1988; Pettigrew, 1998; Smith, 1994) and is also relevant within the context of police culture. Further, the intergroup contact theory has been supported with diverse research methods yielding supportive results in the field (Meer and Freedman, 1966; Ohm, 1988), archive (Fine, 1979), survey (Jackman and Crane, 1986; Pettigrew, 1997a, b; Robinson, 1980; Sigelman and Welch, 1993) and laboratory (Cook, 1978, 1984; Desforges, Lord, Ramsey, Mason, Van Leeuwen, 1991).

Belkin and McNichol (2002), Miller et al. (2003) and Meyers et al. (2004) contributed valuable research on the inclusion of lesbian and gay identities within law enforcement, which could be connected to intergroup contact theory. Further, research on the attitudes

and beliefs of heterosexual officers about LGB counterparts continues to grow (Bernstein and Kostelac, 2002; Lyon et al., 2008). Lewis (2003) stated that attitudes and beliefs about LGB individuals suggest that familiarity with LGB individuals is highly correlated with positive perceptions. In other words, a social connection to an LGB person reduces stigmas held against them. Yet there exists minimal research on heterosexual cisgender perspectives of transgender individuals, and no research on their perspectives within policing. The applicability of the intergroup contact theory will be revisited in the findings in chapter five.

Just like their American counterparts, most English and Welsh constables who disclosed that they worked alongside a transgender colleague stated that they had a better understanding of transgender identities than those who did not. Simon stated:

Honestly, I didn't understand much about transgender identities until I worked with (constable name omitted), which is pretty sad because I am a gay man. Once I worked with her, and the more time I spent with her, the more I understood it. They face much different obstacles than we do, you know?

Simon was not the only British constable to disclose that he had learned more about transgender identities because he worked alongside one. Tony, who worked alongside the first transgender constable on his force, stated:

Because I spent more time with that constable, I was curious about why he feels the need to change genders. I realised that in his mind he felt that he has to wear women's underwear. Right, whatever his desire was he felt he needed to wear a bra. As a woman wears a bra, he felt he had to wear it too. And that is the way it is. There has to be a place along the line for some people to ... like that particular officer to feel as his body is. If that bucks the system, so be it, but how do we accept that and move forward in the force? Because even to this day I do not know. But I have definitely become more aware of transgender identities because of my encounters around that particular officer. So, I think that is a good thing about how transgender identities are now existing within policing.

Notably, Tony, unlike my other American, English or Welsh participants who disclosed that they had worked with a transgender colleague in the past, admitted that he was homophobic. Tony, a British constable who supervised a trans employee, disclosed a story in which his colleagues didn't accept a transgender colleague. Tony stated he had to address a constable who was wearing women's underclothing prior to transitioning because other constables were making fun of and saying negative things directed towards the constable. Tony stated that he told the constable that he⁹⁵ could not wear women's underwear underneath his uniform as it was visible underneath the white patrol shirt. When confronted, the trans constable countered that "female counterparts wear a white

⁹⁵ Tony addressed the constable as "he".

shirt to where you see a white bra underneath it”. Tony told the constable that he isn’t a woman, but agreed with the constable’s point and addressed the issue with his upper administration. During this time Tony disclosed that other constables were addressing the trans constable with derogatory terms like “he-she” and “freak”. Tony further stated:

I really felt sorry for this particular officer. Not because of what he decided to be but ... or what he is ... but because of the way he was treated by his peer group. And I didn’t know how to deal with it myself, and I laughed at him when he told me because I thought he was winding me up.

Tony continued:

He was basically a laughing stock. Right, he would wear ladies’ thongs into work, right, there were a few issues surrounding it. He was quite feminine in his approach; he would pluck his eyebrows, and do all the things that would be consistent with a gay man, or what a woman would do ... He took the openness element of I am allowed to be trans and cross-dressing at work to the next level.

Yet, Tony, on a positive note, stated that currently he has become more “understanding” of trans identities through working alongside a trans officer. Therefore, personalised socialisation with a fellow trans colleague could arguably lead to a better, as Tony described it, “understanding” of transgender identities.

5.3.3 Backlash of Categorisations

English and Welsh constables, unlike American officers, disclosed that there was more perceived negative visibility of LGBT+ identities within constabularies. Notably, while most constables expressed civil rights support for LGBT+ identities, a few disclosed that they did not approve of how constabularies publicly display their support of the LGBT+ rights movement. While there appeared to be a higher level of LGBT+ acceptance compared to American counterparts, straight constables disclosed that they were supportive as long as it wasn’t too visible to fellow colleagues. In fact, straight cisgender constables who participated in this research stated that the visible presence of LGBT+ identities within police culture can potentially lead to further social isolation, which reinforces the construction of out-group identification in respect to the social identity theory. As Peter stated:

You know when we are flying PRIDE flags outside the station they are not taking, you know, when I saw that I felt insulted by it because it flew below our police flag. For me the flag and the emblem for the police represents that anyways ... it undermines the police service, I think.

Simon, much like Peter, stated:

I am fine with it as long as it isn't too much in my face. If you are too out and proud then I don't think it reflects the force properly ... It is okay to be trans or gay, but just don't shove it down our throats, ya know?

When I explored Peter's, Simon's and other similar statements further, there appeared to be an inner conflict between accepting LGBT+ constables who participate in PRIDE events, and seeing this, through the public's eyes, as reflecting unprofessionalism in the police. As Tony stated:

Why do we celebrate this? Ya, I accept that there are gay people out there ... yet I see all the comments on social media about how they (the public) perceive (constabulary name omitted) to be. Like one comment that summed it up for me was that "(constabulary name) is bent". So the perception of the community is then that the police officers with (constabulary name) are bent. It makes us look unprofessional.

English and Welsh interviewees versus American interviewees gave rise to more negative views about LGBT+ visibility within policing for two arguable reasons. First, there exists more English and Welsh legal protections for LGBT+ identities within employment than US institutions (Mogul et al. 2011). For example, being LGBT+ in America is not a protected class and therefore you can lose your job for being so⁹⁶. In contrast, in England and Wales, LGBT+ individuals may feel more comfortable engaging in more visible advocacy roles (i.e. flying a PRIDE flag and marching in PRIDE parades) because their job is protected. With increased visible advocacy roles, LGBT+ identities are made more apparent to those who previously might not would have been exposed to them.

Second, new changes within employment rights can in turn create a ripple effect across political, sociological, and cultural ideologies. With this ripple effect, public negative opinions can become highlighted or expressed. Often coined the 'mere exposure effect', mere exposure to something new leads to more liking for stimuli that are novel and neutral in connotation, yet repeated exposure of something that has a negative attitude associated to it will strengthen negative affective reactions (Crisp et al. 2009). Unfortunately, this mere exposure effect backlash could arguably be applicable to current LGBT+ identities within policing. This has occurred because more LGBT+ identities are more noticeably visible within policing compared to twenty years ago. So, in other words, with familiarity breeds content. Notably, this is an area I wish to explore further in future studies for confirmation.

⁹⁶ As of this writing, several "religious freedom" laws have been passed in America which allows individuals to legally discriminate and refuse to provide any type of service to those whose identity conflicts with their religious ideologies. It is anticipated that these state laws will be challenged in the Supreme Court, but until that time these laws feasibly allow for Christian and Muslim doctors to legally refuse to medical treat LGBT+ patients, business owners can legally refuse to serve LGBT+ patrons, private religious colleges can legally refuse LGBT+ students, etc. Further, several states in America are right to work states in which you can be terminated without explanation unless it is due to a protected characteristic.

Additionally, English and Welsh constables disclosed perceived occupational incidents of LGBT+ favouritism, which was not mentioned by their American counterparts. Within an occupational construct, this was disclosed to occur when LGBT+ individuals use a 'gay card' or 'trans card' to their advantage. This advantage results in perceived assumptions of positive discrimination within policing. As Peter, who best summed up statements from other constables, stated:

Officers who are gay, lesbian and transgender, it would seem that promotion is there ... If you are not employing minority groups, you appear prejudiced ... It seems that if you are a member of that network you are more likely, you are more successful in any selection or progression ... I heard a sergeant say you are white, British, heterosexual male, you don't have a card to play.

Peter further explained that he feels that if a constable is up for promotion who is not LGBT+, they will not get the job. When I inquired about this type of police occupational discrimination and how it is permissible, Peter stated:

There are hidden stats that no one gets to see. I know the stats are there on the process. Everyone says it is equal, but we all got the ability, but if you have two ideal candidates, one may be a particular minority or network over one who is a white British male.

Peter further stated:

No one has the balls to say, you know what? I don't think the recruitment process; I don't think you gave an equal opportunity. I think you gave the job to him because he is gay or she is trans. No one will ever say that, because they will go, well here is evidence that he or she scored higher than you when they really didn't.

Interestingly enough, no English or Welsh cisgender female participants (n=5) shared the same observation of LGBT+ positive discrimination. I believe this could be explained by the social obstacles that cisgender females have to face throughout their life prior to their employment within policing (see: Westmarland, 2001) and also from their treatment within policing due to integrated masculinity components within police culture. In other words, since cisgender females exist as a stigmatised minority within policing, they may be more occupationally sympathetic towards other stigmatised individuals.

5.4 Summary

To recap, the research question of this chapter was:

What are the perceptions of cisgender officers towards transgender officers, and what are the consequences of these perceptions?

This question was answered by examining the way participants categorise heteronormativity and gender role ideologies while examining the consequences of these

categorisations. Data indicated that heteronormative perceptions of masculinity influence perceptions of gender role ideology. Further, sexual minorities are perceived as threatening traditional gender role beliefs, much like those who exist outside gender binaries (i.e. transgender individuals). Participants disclosed that monolithic masculinity within policing impacts perceptions of gender and how gender is performed. Those who do not conform or perform 'conventional' gender within policing are more prone to experience social rejection within police culture in the form of heterosexism and genderism. Due to socialised perceptions of gender roles, those who deviate from these roles are more prone to be susceptible to cisgender anti-LGBT+ prejudice.

Data suggested that police perceptions of masculinity and femininity influence how gender and sexuality are perceived, and reveal how it is socially situated. It was theorised that police, who are both shaped by and continue to shape a highly masculine occupational subculture, view those who present themselves as masculine are more socially acceptable than deemed feminine identities (i.e. cisgender women, gay, and trans feminine identities). American, English and Welsh⁹⁷ police disclosed that there are different levels of social acceptance and perceptions of occupational performance between gay men, lesbians, trans feminine identities and trans masculine identities. For example, officers who are perceived as challenging social expectations of 'maleness' (i.e. transwomen) were more likely to be socially rejected within policing compared to officers who were perceived as challenging 'femaleness' (i.e. masculine and/or lesbian women).

Contributing to previous research, this chapter highlighted that cisgender participants perceive masculinity as an important resource and commodity within police work. Masculinity increases the likelihood of acceptance, which may allow some masculine women the opportunity to overcome concepts of 'differential policing', as described by Westmarland (2001). Consequently, participants disclosed that masculine lesbian women are considered to be more accepted within policing than gay men and transgender identities. Accordingly, this research uniquely revealed a higher level of social rejection of trans feminine identities specifically amongst American, English and Welsh officers. As theorised, this can be interpreted as indicative of a perceived threat to monolithic masculinity and gender ideologies within policing, which in turn could be seen as a disruption to a fundamental aspect of a police 'working personality' itself. Trans feminine identities offer an explicit challenge to police culture because they 'offend' or complicate monolithic perceptions of masculinity, reinforcing the social divide between in-group officers and out-group officers (see also Chapter Three).

⁹⁷ As discussed in detail in Chapter Four, the purpose of conducting a comparative piece between America, England, and Wales was to determine if perceptions towards transgender identities within policing is monolithic. The reasons for choosing a comparison between America, England, and Wales is because their police cultures are somewhat similar. The comparative differences and similarities will be further revisited in Chapter Eight.

Cisgender heterosexual participants also disclosed that there is a sliding scale of female masculinity acceptance within policing. Beliefs about 'lesbian female masculinity' and 'gay male femininity' muddled the waters of how some officers perceived trans identities. For example, all of my participants felt that gay men and trans feminine identities were less masculine than lesbian and trans masculine identities, much like Connell's (1995) work on LGB identities. More feminine officers who are integrating into police culture will arguably face more social obstacles compared to officers deemed to be more masculine. Further, participants disclosed that their perception of 'maleness' was associated with genital constructs, such as the perception that there are two, and only two, opposite sexes, which are determined by one's genitals. It follows, then, that most transwomen will never be perceived as 'female' due to their lack of 'biological' vaginas, and most transmen will not be perceived as 'male' because they do not possess a 'biological' penis. This finding was consistent across all participants regardless of sexualities.

This chapter examined two major themes – cisgender perceptions of gender and sexuality, and the consequences of these perceptions for fellow colleagues and the workplace environment more generally – to better understand why biased behaviour exists within policing. This chapter theoretically contributed to existing literature by exploring how generating effective ties can lead to social acceptance for those who challenge normative masculinity. Therefore, this chapter confirmed: the applicability of Allport's intergroup contact theory (1954) to police cultures in respect to masculinity; and increased socialisation with those who challenge masculinity (i.e. gay and transfeminine identities) within police cultures may lead to advancements in some social acceptance. The following two empirical chapters examine transgender experiences within policing to appreciate the impact of these harmful perceptions on the functioning of the police workplace.

Chapter Six

“We’re the ugly child of the LGBT world”: Trans Police Occupational Experiences within Police Culture

6.1 Introduction

The quote in the title of this chapter is from an American transgender officer and reflects what all transgender research participants conveyed when they explored their position within the LGBT+ policing community. Drawing upon 14 interviews of transgender police, this chapter answers the following research question:

What are the occupational experiences of officers who identify as trans within policing?

This chapter examines transgender participants’ experiences and opinions in an attempt to clarify the unique struggles they face within policing. A large portion of this chapter explores how trans officers construct a social identity within police culture while negotiating a hypermasculine environment where gender expectations are heightened⁹⁸. Further, this chapter explores the obstacles transgender officers face when disclosing their transgender status at work. Besides examining how transgender officers disclose their transitioning status, their perceptions of gender performance (i.e. the performance of masculinity or femininity) and trans feminine occupational experiences⁹⁹ are also examined.

This chapter is structured around the four major themes that emerged from my analysis of the interview data: 1) visual gender cues and trans status disclosure; 2) genderqueer identities within policing; 3) perceptions of masculinity/femininity and ‘purging’ transgenderism tendencies; and 4) transgender cultural subdivisions within policing. The first theme, trans status disclosure, examines how some transgender police choose or are forced to ‘come out of the closet’ or remain hidden. The second theme examines genderqueer identities within policing and trans perspectives towards genderqueer identities. The third theme, perceptions of masculinity/femininity and ‘purging’ transgenderism tendencies, examines why trans feminine individuals are more likely to be drawn to policing as a profession. The fourth theme, transgender subdivisions, focuses on my observation of a new phenomenon I have labelled as the inter-trans feminine hierarchy¹⁰⁰. I have provided a theoretical analysis of this hierarchy, which involves

⁹⁸ Hyper masculinity and police culture was discussed in Chapter Three.

⁹⁹ While I wished to examine trans masculine occupational experiences, this research found more dominant themes in respect to trans femininity.

¹⁰⁰ I hope future work in masculinity and femininity studies in non-police work environments will examine how relatable this concept is.

different levels of social acceptance of different trans feminine identities within police culture.

Aimed at advancing existing literature on transgender decisions of whether to ‘come out of the closet’ or ‘hide in the closet’, this chapter specifically examines the issues that transgender police face when choosing to openly transition within police cultures. While previous research has scantily examined the occupational ramifications for coming out as transgender within work cultures, this research uniquely contributes by examining the specific ramifications for doing so within police cultures. As such, this chapter refers to the theoretical underscoring which was highlighted in Chapter Two and Three which examined the performance of gender. Additionally, this chapter contributes to existing literature by examining genderqueer identities within police culture and how they challenge current Butlerian theories of gender performance¹⁰¹. By conceptualising how those, who do not adhere to binaried expectations of gender, negotiate a masculine environment where ‘maleness’ is embraced and ‘femaleness’ is viewed as undesirable (see: Chapter Five), this chapter highlights how rigid gendered binaries exist within police cultures.

This chapter also further expands upon previous literature of how and why pre-op trans feminine identities enter policing as a way to suppress their transgenderism. As explored in Chapter Three, Brown’s (1988) previous research on the U.S. military theorised that trans feminine identities are drawn to hypermasculine environments that exist within military institutions when faced with internal conflict of gender expression. As such, it is argued that trans feminine identities (pre-transition) may take extreme efforts to suppress any expression of femininity by volunteering for hypermasculine jobs which embrace hegemonic masculinity, namely policing. Contributing further to Brown’s (1988) research on trans feminine identities in hypermasculine environments, this chapter provides new evidence that pre-op trans feminine motivation for entering hypermasculine professions is not just restricted to military. In addition, it is posited in this chapter that trans masculine identities are also drawn to policing because it offers a safe area to express masculinity.

Besides examining why some transgender identities enter a known binary gendered hostile work environment¹⁰², this chapter also contributes to a better understanding of how social rejection exist within trans feminine police cultures on a micro level. This contributing theory, labelled the ‘inter-trans feminine hierarchy concept’, describes how within trans feminine police cultures¹⁰³ there exists conflicting micro-relationships. In other words, within this trans feminine police culture, there exists social exclusion and isolation towards other transgender identities. It is theorised that this occurs because trans

¹⁰¹ Refer to Chapter Three.

¹⁰² Refer to Chapter Five.

¹⁰³ Referring to Chapter Five, cisgender perceptions of gender within police culture were found to strictly adhere to ‘male’ and ‘female’ binaries.

feminine identities in policing exist in an environment where gendered differences are magnified, thus some transgender expressions are more accepted than others.

For this study, 5 American transgender officers and 9 English and Welsh transgender constables participated (n=14). The participants' ages ranged from 26 years to 65 years. Below are the figures detailing the American, English and Welsh police who participated in this research. Trans identification is how each participant freely classified themselves; I never asked any participant to identify their sexuality or gender identity.

Figure 6.1 Transgender Participants

American Transgender Officer Participants

Pseudonym	Policing Tenure	Trans I.D.	Region¹⁰⁴
Dave	18 years	FTM	Rural
Holly	35 years	MTF	Urban
Jessie	33 years	MTF	Urban
Liv	19 years	MTF	Urban
Josie	27 years	MTF	Urban

English and Welsh Transgender Constable Participants

Pseudonym	Policing Tenure	Trans I.D.	Region
Erin	15 years	Genderqueer	Urban
Tom	30 years	FTM	Urban
Sarah	2 years	MTF	Urban
Amber	7 years	MTF	Urban
Addison	15 years	Genderqueer	Urban

¹⁰⁴ Due to ethical considerations for safe-guarding respondents an anonymous randomisation process was imposed throughout the literature. As such, it was deemed to not reveal the respondents' specific locations.

This was deemed unproblematic because this research was not exploring the differences between rural and urban environments within policing. Further, I had only one transgender participant who worked in a rural police department.

Elizabeth	8 years	MTF	Urban
Clair	17 years	MTF	Urban
Ellie	35 years	MTF	Urban
Gareth	11 years	Transvestite	Urban

6.2 Transgender Visual Cues and Trans Status Disclosure

Criminology researchers, who have empirically neglected transgender identities, have theorised that lesbian and gay men in policing represent a threat to gendered characteristics of police work, which has an emphasis on physical strength, mental strength, aggression and authority (see Burke, 1993, 1994b; Leinen, 1993; Colvin, 2012; Rumens and Broomfield, 2012). Yet, the intersection between visual gender cues and transgender status of officers who have transitioned or are in the process of transitioning is relatively unknown within police culture. Notably, there are transgender police whose newly acquired gender is never questioned, and their LGBT+ status may never be known. Therefore, some transgender officers are often faced with the daunting decision of having to choose between disclosing their transition and not disclosing if they enter policing post-op¹⁰⁵. For some, there are gradual visual indicators of a transition status before, during and after transition that make disclosure an involuntary process. As Liv, an American officer, put it:

I think it is a lot easier to be the first LGB versus a T, because a T is a big difference for people. When you come out gay or lesbian, you don't really physically change anything; it doesn't impact on the people you work with per se, because they don't see you with your partner. But when you transition, they have to deal with it for a restroom issue, locker room issues, the pronoun issue, etc. They physically see you different.

Yet, most transgender police disclosed that some members of the transgender community have an easier time transitioning within policing because they do not possess certain visual cues of being transgender. As Clair, a British constable, stated:

You can spot a pre-op trans woman easily, but for some post-op transwomen it is much more difficult, which is why pre-op women and cross-dressers have to put up with a lot. Transmen, on the other hand, pass easier than transwomen. They can grow a beard and gain muscles quickly because of the test.

¹⁰⁵ Post-op refers to transsexual individuals who have medically transitioned from one gender to another. Typically, this process takes several years, and it is feasible, as I have found in this research, for some individuals to possess no stereotypical visual indications or social indications of existing as a previous gender.

Tom, a British constable, stated:

Because I am now bald, most people do not question if I am a man or woman because of the test. The only notable thing that people may question is my short height and my smaller hands, but there is nothing they can do about that.

As Clair's and Tom's statements illustrate, some post-op individuals may not possess the visual cues to identify them as trans, and thus their trans status may be unknown. But for others, there are certain visual cues that might identify someone as transgender post-transition to people who have knowledge of medical transitioning. Dave, an American officer, stated:

You are not as easily recognised if you are a post-op transman versus a post-op transwoman, so you have the ability to hide within society. Some transmen might have the phalloplasty, in which they take forearm skin to create a penis. If they use that method, then you will always be able to see scars around a transman's forearm ... but unless you know how to spot things like that, most cisgender people aren't going to 'out' you.

Visual signs such as the noticeable presence of a laryngeal prominence (commonly referred to as the Adam's apple), variations in height, variations in muscle structure and surgical scarring may be a visual indication of post-trans status; however, often cisgender individuals are unaware, or unobservant, of these slight physical variations. Often to overcome these slight variations trans individuals will have a chondrolaryngoplasty (commonly called tracheal shave) to remove the visible appearance of a laryngeal prominence, have HRT (hormone replacement therapy) to alter muscle structure, and/or cover up or tattoo the forearm areas where a phalloplasty scar may be located to avoid further visual attention to any trans stigmas. As Dave continued:

I know a few guys who have the scars on their forearm from surgery, and because it is a big scar and very noticeable, some transmen will either wear a forearm athletic sleeve or get tattoos to cover it up. You are trying your best to just fit in and look normal; it makes sense to not draw any extra attention to an area that might let others know that you are trans.

All English and Welsh participants, except for one, disclosed that they had transitioned during police employment. As Ellie stated:

You can't hide when you transition. Everyone can see the changes.

The visual cues of changing gender presentation force transgender individuals to face coming out of the closet, but those who identify as a cross-dresser do not undergo visual bodily changes. Therefore, officers who identify as a cross-dresser can hide their identity, whereas those who undergo surgical or hormonal procedures cannot. Cross-dressers and

those who possess minimal transgender visual cues have the ability to choose to hide in the closet. As Holly, an American officer, stated:

Cross-dressing is much more common in the cis-male population than most people think, particularly within policing. I know of several males who have secretly told me that they are cross-dressers ... They can hide, unlike most of us.

Mirroring Holly and other officers' statements, Elizabeth, a British constable, stated:

Cross-dressers can hide ... but MTFs can't. Because we transition or have transitioned, other employees who don't know can see the little things that suggest that someone is trans ... for MTFs it might be height, jawline, facial hair, etc. For FTMs it might be small hands, short height and the typical NHS forearm scar if they have had bottom surgery.

Here Elizabeth, like all the other MTF participants, is indicating that despite most transitions, there are or will be permanent visual indicators that someone is transgender. Yet, members of the cross-dressing community (who may or may not identify as trans)¹⁰⁶ do not possess visual indicators of trans status. This visual and social differentiation between cross-dressers and transsexuals will be revisited in section 6.5.

6.2.1 'Hiding in the Trans Closet'

Some officers, who were employed post-op or post-transition, stated that they have chosen not to disclose their trans status as a means to protect themselves while working in policing. Holly, an American officer, explained that her first policing job resulted in an unwarranted termination pre-transition, because at the time she identified as a male cross-dresser and disclosed this to her agency. Holly then took time off from law enforcement after her termination:

I took time off from policing, because initially I was assessing if I should stay in law enforcement since they don't want me. They basically felt that it was incumbent on them to weed the people out who were gay, lesbian or transgender. Basically I took the year off and decided, you know what, that they didn't need to know, and if I could find a department where they didn't ask or didn't care, I would try there, so I did.

After her transition, Holly re-entered policing without disclosing her trans status out of fear that she would be fired again. When I asked Holly why she didn't disclose her status to her new agency, she stated:

¹⁰⁶ Some members of the cross-dressing community may not identify as transgender, but all of my research participants stated that cross-dressers are members of the transgender community. As discussed in Chapter Three, academically cross-dressers have been included within the transgender community because they present gender in non-traditional ways. Personally, I believe identification should be determined by an individual, but because my participants (even cross-dressers) identified as transgender, they are included in this research.

Self-protect, self-preservation ... ya know ... trying to also live the life and protect my family.

Holly was not alone in feeling that she needed to hide her transition status. Jessie, another American officer, disclosed that when she entered police academy, she had a chin-length bob haircut and wore a 'male' short-haired wig on top of her feminine hairstyle. Jokingly, Jessie stated that the wig made her look like Donald Trump: "I mean, I look back on it, and, I mean, what did they think?" Jessie further stated:

I am not sure what they thought ... They had to know something was up when I was hired as a male ... I was so afraid to show everyone who I really was.

When discussing her transition in policing, Jessie, like other American trans officers, felt that they were torn between giving up a career they loved and being true to their inter-self:

I mean, at that point, you know, I had two tensions. I really loved my job. I really loved policing and I also knew that, or I thought that, if I transitioned it meant that I would have to give that up.

Holly, Jessie and others chose to live in the closet and not disclose their trans status during different points of their police career. This is similar to Burke's (1993, 1994b) research on lesbian and gay officers in respect to workplace disclosure. Transgender existence can be just as much of an invisible minority existence as being a closeted LGB individual. Yet, they become a visible minority member once they disclose their transgender status post-op or when they begin the process of transitioning. As previously stated, this disclosure process is a very unique social phenomenon, as their social stigma moves from having an invisible stigma to having a visible stigma, and (for some) back to having an invisible stigma again, making some transsexual individuals a social stigma chameleon over time.

6.2.2 'Coming Out of the Trans Closet'

When examining post-op transgender identity development, foundational research on transgender identities outside of policing has documented the struggle individuals' face when deciding to disclose their status (Budge et al., 2010; Devor, 2004; Gagne et al., 1997; Levitt and Ippolito, 2014). These struggles manifest through different conflict stages of identity development (Devor, 2004). These stages, as described in psychological studies, include feelings of interpersonal discomfort, anxiety, confusion and exploration of identities which support variation in forms of gender presentation (e.g. lesbian or gay male identities) (Devor, 2004; Levitt and Ippolito, 2014). Additionally, these stages involve evaluation of how they perceive they will manage social stigmas and discrimination, how they will integrate into their new identities, and, for some, how they will engage in some form of advocacy (Levitt and Ippolito, 2014) when disclosing their identities to colleagues.

Besides evaluating repercussions for disclosing post-transition status, often the decision to disclose trans status to colleagues is influenced by internalised beliefs about gender roles and heterosexuality (Gedro, 2009). When choosing to disclose trans status, post-op constables are often forced to make a decision that compromises their personal integrity, which can include maintaining a false heterosexual (or homosexual) identity or avoiding discussing issues surrounding sexuality, family or personal home life altogether, which is similar to gay sexuality disclosures (see: Colvin, 2012). Therefore, disclosures of transgender status can make them more susceptible to heterosexism and genderism within police culture. Notably, transgender disclosure is not expected nor anticipated in occupational environments, and the action of disclosure is reliant upon personal choice, much like disclosure of sexuality.

Creed and Scully (2000) described reasons for LGBT+ individuals to ‘come out of the closet’: claiming (owning the stigmatised identity as a matter of fact), educative (providing clarity or inviting questions) and advocacy (illuminating injustices or inequalities). Notably, these motivations are not mutually exclusive and can rely upon several different factors occurring independently or in tandem (Law et al., 2011). For example, an officer may disclose because they want to be authentic (claiming), due to a need to address misconceptions of being transgender (educative), and/or because of a need to expand diversity policies to include protection for gender identity (advocacy) (Law et al., 2011).

Of the police interviewed, most of the participants transitioned during their police employment, so they were hired pre-op. Therefore, those who were pre-transition were forced to disclose to their agencies that they were going to medically transition. In addition to medical leave reasons or for administrative paperwork reasons (i.e. name changes), officers disclosed that they felt a need to disclose to maintain their personal integrity, and they wanted to be honest with themselves, their colleagues and their supervisors. As Holly, an American officer, stated:

I didn't want to lie to anyone ... I was being honest with myself and I didn't want to lose trust from others.

Here Holly is ‘claiming’ her transsexual status, much as Creed and Scully (2000) described. Dave, another American officer, stated:

I wanted to be honest with everyone since I respect them.

Yet, some trans police took a more educative and advocacy stance on why they disclosed their transgender status pre-transition. Sarah, a British constable, best summed up what others stated:

I kept the same patch from when I was a male officer because I hold the perception that the only way members of the public, other police officers, etc. will get used to it is if they see it and get educated. And it will be difficult for me, but if anyone

should follow in my footsteps in the future ... in a few years' time ... maybe those trailblazing direct ideas will make it easier for them. Now ... I have faced some discriminatory and trans prejudice things within society and within the force itself.

Sarah, like others, owns her desire to create visibility for trans individuals within policing as a means to actively affirm her identity for other potential closeted trans officers and towards the citizens in the community she patrols. To frame this in reference to Creed and Scully (2000), Sarah feels that she is fulfilling an advocacy role by letting others know that she is trans and that she has transitioned. By doing so, she believes she is standing up for transgender identities within the community and within policing while educating others. This is similar, in some aspects, to Humphrey's (1999) and Clair et al.'s (2005) findings of motivations for sexuality disclosure in lesbian and gay individuals. With further reference to Creed and Scully (2000), Holly and Sarah's disclosure was based on wanting to own their transgender status and to be authentic; they wanted to claim their transgender status to those they work with.

Yet for some transgender police, the ability to come out of the closet on their own terms is denied. As Ellie, a British constable, stated:

You can't hide when you transition. Everyone can see the changes ... You are forced out without the luxury of having the option of choosing to come out on your own terms.

Holly, an American officer, stated:

We live in a society where gendered looks define you. Gay and lesbians and cross-dressers can hide if they want to ... for most of us it is impossible, so you are forced out.

Amber, a British constable, stated:

I envy the LGB community. I know they have it rough ... but when you are transitioning, it is like you have a big neon sign above your head that you are transitioning ... The gay community can come out on their own terms.

Clair, another Brit constable, stated:

The visual changes during transition is the most difficult part of being trans. Everyone can see that you are transitioning and you can't hide it ... It is a long gradual process.

Dave, an American officer, further explained how visual this 'long gradual process' is during transition:

In a perfect world, changing genders would be like a light-switch and no one would know at work ... but unfortunately medical technology isn't there. It becomes much easier to hide within society once you fully transition ... The visual signs aren't there as much, if at all.

As participants indicated, the visual cues of changing gender presentation force most transgender individuals to involuntarily face coming out of the closet. Revisiting section 6.2, there is a difference between the visual cues of transitioning and being a cross-dresser. Gareth disclosed that transvestites, unlike other transgender identities, possess the ability both to hide in the closet and to be forcefully 'outed'. Gareth stated he was 'outed' to some colleagues when an ex-girlfriend told them about his transvestite behaviour. Gareth stated that once his colleagues found out, he started getting bullied at work:

On one occasion I got my locker broken into and they changed some of my kit for girls' kit, you know like my hat and stuff like that. Someone also graffitied the back of my car with 'gender bender' written on the back of it whilst it was parked in the police secure car park ... Another time, when I lost a pair of glasses, someone said they found my glasses and I've put them in your drawer, and when I got back to my drawer they were obviously girls' glasses ... I approached HR and they told me they couldn't help me out until I filed an official report. Bearing in mind to make the official report at that time, I still wasn't prepared to go public with all of this, I just wanted it to remain under the radar, but if you go public with something like this every one finds out.

Gareth, who was trying to keep his transvestite status in the closet, was forcefully 'outed' to other members of his force when he eventually made a complaint; and in response his police supervisors transferred him to a different divisional area while the investigation was pending. Gareth stated that his experience was "awful", and he eventually felt forced to come out to his family and friends after being forced out of the closet by his force. Gareth was eventually referred by his supervisors to the welfare unit and was sent to cognitive behavioural therapy due to "his cross-dressing". His transvestite status led to a huge breakdown in Gareth's confidentiality, as he never had engaged in any form of transvestitism while at work. Gareth perceived that his transgender status would never be revealed at work, but as soon as he was forced to expose himself, he became a very visible member of the transgender community within his constabulary.

6.2.3 Issues with 'Coming Out of the Trans Closet'

All transgender participants disclosed that despite their positive motivations for voluntary disclosure, 'coming out of the closet' resulted in traumatic experiences and impacted their long-term career outcomes. As Addison, a British constable, stated:

Once I came out, the job became horrible. I was harassed and I believed it impacted my chances for promotion.

Dave, an American officer, stated:

You think the hard part is coming out, but it isn't ... The hard part is the consequences for coming out. It hasn't impacted me career wise as much ... but I have had my fair share of putting up with bad stuff.

Like Addison, Dave and others, Liv, an American officer, stated:

Once you come out it confirms what others think ... then you have to face the bullying and harassment.

This is similar to Davis (2009), who found that once a transgender person comes out at work, they face harsh reactions from fellow non-police colleagues. These negative and harsh reactions will be revisited in this chapter and throughout the following chapter.

Collectively, trans officers reported issues with work socialisation and exclusion to the point that some felt isolated in their work environment. Erin, a British constable, who came out as a lesbian officer first before they identified as genderqueer, described the conflict of coming out as genderqueer after a medical diagnosis of gender identity disorder¹⁰⁷:

At that point I had to disclose to the line manager at work ... which because of my previous experience and how um ... my sexuality ... I felt it would be used against me ... I thought, great, I survived being a gay woman, now I am going to come across as someone who is genderqueer, which most people don't understand ... So I am going to be very careful about this and very cautious about who I tell ... which led me probably to be a little bit isolated on my team.

Notably, most participants expressed aversion to the medical diagnosis of gender identity disorder when disclosing trans status at work. Like others, Jessie, an American officer, mirrored Ellie's statement:

Being diagnosed with a disorder can impact your career in policing ... You have seen it and everyone knows it ... They will take your gun away because you have a condition or you are crazy ... Being trans shouldn't be a disorder ... You feel isolated.

¹⁰⁷ Gender Identity Disorder (GID) was defined as "people who experience intense, persistent gender incongruence" in the fourth edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-IV) (American Psychological Association, 2013). The more recent fifth edition (DSM-V) replaced GID with gender dysphoria (GD), which "will be used to describe emotional distress over a 'marked incongruence between one's experienced/expressed gender and assigned gender'" (American Psychological Association, 2013). Rather than stigmatising gender nonconformity, the changes to the DSM aim to remove stigma from gender nonconforming individuals and place the emphasis on the symptoms of stress-related gender incongruence in society, while creating a diagnostic label to ensure transgender individuals are able to access sufficient medical care (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

Ellie, a British constable, stated:

When you get diagnosed with a mental disorder it carries a stigma. Most transsexuals hate that they are diagnosed with a mental disorder in order to transition. It takes away the normality of having a trans identity.

As discussed in chapter three, historically to transition between genders a medical diagnosis of gender identity disorder has been required. And if someone identifies as genderqueer, a medical diagnosis is needed should they request any medical treatment. Yet, as Ellie illustrates, there is a stigmatisation of the diagnosis that signifies that there is something wrong with them – that they are outside societal gender binary norms and thus must be medically diagnosed as having a mental disorder. Shelly (2009) states: “clinical discourses and diagnostic criteria actually reflect in a negative sense, the social injustices that trans people face” (p. 387). GID-related diagnostic criteria include “discomfort about one’s assigned sex” and the “wish to rid one’s natal sex characteristics” (Cochen-Kettenis and Pfafflin, 2009, p. 7) among other symptoms that pathologised all gender nonconformity behaviour as a one-dimensional disorder. Further, the use of the term “disorder” could further stigmatise gender nonconforming individuals as abnormal because they identify outside the social gender binary.

6.3 Not ‘Doing Gender’: Genderqueer Police Identities

Revisiting chapter three, genderqueer identities do not adhere to binary categories of gender, identifying neither as ‘male’ nor as ‘female’. As research indicates, those who outwardly challenge social constructions of binary gender within hypermasculine environments often face more social resistance than more binary identified individuals (Budge et al., 2010; Law et al., 2011). Theoretical approaches discussed by West and Zimmerman (1987) and Butler (1990) can be used to better understand how some transgender officers ‘do gender’ and ‘perform gender’ in their respective social environments¹⁰⁸. As discussed in chapter three, in their theory of ‘doing gender’, West and Zimmerman (1987) argued that gender is a social process that is constantly negotiated versus something that is innate to men or women (Schilt and Connell, 2007). West and Zimmerman (1987) constructed their theory to account for the reproduction of gender through social interaction. West and Zimmerman (1987) illustrated how in Garfinkel’s (1967) case study, Agnes, a transwoman who was assigned male at birth, learned to do femininity in the everyday social production of gender. West and Zimmerman (1987) further stated: “participants in interaction organize their various and manifold activities to reflect or express gender, and they are disposed to perceive the behaviour of others in similar light” (p. 4). Society holds everyone accountable for gendered expectations, and thus gender inequality is socially constructed and maintained in certain environments. Men continue to do dominance while women exercise deference (Schilt and Connell, 2007). Besides positioning masculinity and femininity as strict binary opposites, in

¹⁰⁸ This was covered in Chapter Three.

hypermasculine environments this social expectation of gender becomes super-heightened.

West and Zimmerman's (1987) concept of 'doing gender' emerged within hegemonic theoretical frameworks and is frequently used to explore gender inequality, yet feminist scholars are beginning to question whether the theory's ability can account for social change (Connell, 2010). Notably, West and Zimmerman's (1987) theory of 'doing gender' shares components of Butler's theory of 'performing gender' in *Gender Trouble* (1990), which was explored at length in chapter three. Butler, unlike West and Zimmerman (1987), draws on psychoanalytic theories rather than sociological theories of symbolic interaction to frame her arguments (Schilt and Connell, 2007). Both theories state that there are expectations in terms of social norms and view gender as an overarching system that restricts gender expressions for men and women at the same time as it provides structure for a 'liveable life' (Butler, 2004, p. 8).

As discussed in chapter three, a main issue with previous gender theories is that they are too binary constrictive and do not explore those who are genderqueer. Genderqueer individuals within policing do not feel the need to adhere to socially constructed expectations of gender, in line with Harrison et al.'s (2012) findings. While genderqueer individuals may be perceived as "alternative" femininities and masculinities, as Schilt and Connell (2007, p. 597) describe them, there are no theories as to how genderqueer individuals identify as outside gendered binaries. Genderqueer individuals devalue theoretical social perceptions of masculinity and femininity by existing as gender outliers, as individuals who identify as neither. Stone (1991) hints at this when stating that trans identities "currently occupy a position which is nowhere, which is outside the binary oppositions of gendered discourse" (p. 295).

Unlike the two genderqueer English and Welsh constables who participated in this research¹⁰⁹, American officers disclosed that they self-identified as FTM or MTF and did not identify as genderqueer. Holly stated that there was a trend of workplace hiring discrimination against individuals who, as she described it, do not fit into "a linear kind of gender identification". Holly, an American officer, additionally stated:

People who are pre-hire candidates coming into it are generally going to meet some resistance not meeting gender stereotypes from agencies or from the background investigators regardless if they have a qualified and viable candidate will get rid of the candidate for other reasons if they are talking about not meeting a gender stereotype male or female. A lot of college graduates will identify as genderqueer, but most of them have not made it into a hiring process. It is bothersome for me, because I do not think it should matter one way or another,

¹⁰⁹ In Chapter Four, I justified why I compared America, England, and Wales. An overall summary of comparative difference/ similarities will also be revisited in the conclusion of this chapter and in Chapter Eight.

but I also feel that their expectations of being genderqueer and identifying that way and that it shouldn't affect them ... I am not saying it should, I am saying it does.

Josie, another American officer, stated:

No one can say for sure, but I have never heard of an agency hiring someone who identifies as genderqueer prior to employment ... I think in police culture more people are trying to be macho or assert their femininity ... there is no account for what's in-between.

Empirical research has already shown that employers have preconceptions as to which job candidate possesses the preferred characteristics to fill a specific job (Acker, 1990; Martin, 2003; Moss and Tily, 2001; Padavic and Reskin, 2002; Williams, 1995). Research has also shown that employers hire job candidates who they believe possess more 'feminine' characteristics (Hochschild, 1983) and more 'masculine' characteristics (Kanter, 1977; Acker, 1990) based on their perception of what is more desirable for certain positions. Therefore, it could be argued that those who rest outside a "linear kind of gender identification", as Holly described it, might face employment discrimination. Further, perceptions of binary gender are strengthened by existing occupational segregation (Schilt and Wiswall, 2008). In other words, because perceptions of binary gender categories are so entrenched in American, English and Welsh police culture, those who do not adhere to strict 'male' and 'female' binaries may face overt discrimination in hiring practices. Therefore, those who identify as genderqueer and do not adhere to binaries are less likely to be hired.

For this research, I had only two genderqueer individuals who participated. Notably, all American trans participants perceived an absence of genderqueer identities within policing. The two genderqueer individuals who participated in this research were from English/Welsh police constabularies. These two constables disclosed more occupational complaints compared to participants who identified as MTF or FTM (this will be revisited in the following chapter). As previously stated, because genderqueer individuals do not associate with any realm of the binary spectrum of 'male' or 'female', cisgender individuals may have a lack of understanding of genderqueer identities, as Erin stated:

I don't necessarily identify as a guy ... um ... I kind of ... I now understand it as being genderqueer ... I thought, great, I survived being a gay woman and now I am going to come across as someone who is genderqueer, which most people do not understand ... For me, coming out was a bit different because I identify as genderqueer ... My supervisor recently asked me if they should call me a "he" or a "she". I said because I was quite a butch girl before and I don't see myself as a guy, so you can make me the butchest girl you have ever known ... whatever you want.

Yet, there are some officers who exhibit less confusion and more understanding. Erin continued:

I remember trying to explain to a guy – I don't identify as a guy or girl, and I know it sounds weird ... and he goes, no, not really. He said, I am half black and I am half white, and I have always had an issue with one community that don't accept me, so I am sort of stuck in the middle. He said I kind of know where you are coming from ... I haven't thought of it that way.

Notably, Erin stated that they¹¹⁰ first identified as a butch gay woman before they identified as genderqueer. Erin, who disclosed they had a mastectomy and is currently undergoing hormone treatment, stated they only wanted to go so far in a gender transition:

I always understood that if you did this on the NHS they would prescribe you with hormones. You have to be on hormones for a couple of years, then you are considered for surgery. And because I wasn't sure how far I wanted to take this or what the route or my journey was really, I thought that is not for me. So I am just going to control my body by going to the gym ... Six months after my chest surgery I decided that I wanted to explore the option of hormones.

Notably, Erin disclosed that they will never go through with any bottom surgery, as they feel more comfortable the way they are – possessing both male and female gendered characteristics.

Another genderqueer participant, Addison, faced different types of occupational issues than Erin. Notably, there were visible differences between Erin and Addison, and I believe this had an impact on how they were accepted within police culture and also impacted the amount of bias they had to face. Addison, who previously identified as a male, began to grow their hair out at work and chose to wear the classic female “blacks” uniform with their force. Addison disclosed:

My inspector asked if there was any reason why my hair was like it was. I replied yes. I was then told that if I arrived to her house presenting as such (my hair was clean, tidy and flicked/styled out on the sides), she would think I was a mess and could not do the job. She stated I was a mess and should get it cut as it was unprofessional etc.

Addison disclosed that the same inspector stated: “I have trans friends, and what you get up to in your own time is your business.” Addison reported several incidents of uniform violations and observable social exclusion because they presented themselves as

¹¹⁰ As previously stated, the word “they” is used since genderqueer identities typically do not associate with male or female pronouns.

genderqueer¹¹¹. Notably, Addison visually presented a more deemed ‘feminine’ of centre presentation (i.e. shoulder-length hair, female attire, no facial hair, yet they possessed a very ‘masculine’ muscular frame) than Erin (i.e. removal of their breast, deeper voice, short hair and a muscular frame), despite the fact that neither of them identify as ‘male’ or ‘female’. I believe this is what led to Erin reporting more positive acceptance within police culture than Addison¹¹². Notably, unlike genderqueer identities, transsexual individuals disclosed that they face a unique struggle in relation to the social acceptance of their masculine or feminine identities.

6.4 Perceptions of Masculinity/Femininity and ‘Purging’ Transgenderism Tendencies

This section looks at how masculinity is perceived in respect to trans identification within policing. Concepts of masculinity and perceptions of how it is performed are also a major theme. Participants disclosed intersectional attitudes of gender expectations when they transitioned on the job. During post-transition, officers and constables disclosed that their new cross-gender interactions changed. Transmen were no longer included in ‘girl talk’ (i.e. talk about appearance, romantic interests and menstruation) with female colleagues, while transwomen reported similar changes, like being excluded from ‘guy talk’ (i.e. conversations about sports, cars and sexual objectification of women) with male colleagues. As Jessie, an American officer, stated:

Once I transitioned, I wasn’t socially included in guy talk anymore. People assumed because I transitioned that my personality would change too.

Dave, another American officer, stated:

Once I became Dave, women talked to me differently. Sometimes I would be included in some girl talk, but now I am treated differently.

Much like all American transsexual participants, all English and Welsh constables stated that they were treated differently after transition. Clair stated:

I was in the army before, so I was used to the guy talk. Once I transitioned, that all changed. I felt socially rejected by men and women because I wouldn’t be included in girl talk.

Mirroring Clair, Elizabeth stated:

I don’t miss the guy talk, but I am also left out of the girl talk ... I feel that socially I am not accepted by either gender.

¹¹¹ Trans-specific uniform violations will be covered in the following chapter when administrative issues are covered.

¹¹² This will be revisited in further detail in the following chapter.

Tom stated:

I still like girlie things and I miss talking about those things sometimes. I mean, just because someone transitions, it does not mean that all your interest changes ... There is an assumption that because I identify as a male I am unable to identify with female stuff ... I mean, I used to be female, but now I am treated socially much differently.

This is similar to Schilt and Connell's (2007) study of trans workplace interactions in non-police environments. Crocker and Lutsky (1986) mentioned a similar finding when they speculated that trans employees may falsely assume that because there are physical changes in the presentation of their gender identity, co-workers may think that they have changed their interests to stereotypical gender-congruent ones.

Previous research has already indicated that employers evaluate their employees' job performances and abilities in binary gendered ways (Acker, 1990; Gorman, 2005; Martin, 2005). These gendered evaluations appeared to be highlighted when participants disclosed their transition from one gender to another and how they performed masculinity during the process. This is similar to Connell's (2010) and Schilt's (2006) research on non-police trans identities and how they observed sexism in gendered organisations pre-transition. Collins (2000) explained these observations by suggesting that trans identities are positioned as 'outsiders within', allowing them to see past 'natural' gender difference. Because a post-op trans identity experiences both social expectations of the performance and expectations of femininity and/or masculinity, they are best suited to make these critical observations. Besides observed gender assumptions of masculinity within police culture and the intersection of socialisation, the motivations for joining policing (a known hegemonic masculine environment¹¹³) are also explored in this section.

Dave, an American officer, presented himself as a masculine lesbian early in his policing career, and then transitioned when medical technologies in gender reassignment surgery had advanced. As such, Dave was able to describe his observations and perceptions of masculinity and acceptance within policing:

Being male or masculine is more acceptable in society, and if you are a man, I don't think being feminine is as acceptable. I think that an effeminate man may have a more difficult time in law enforcement.

Liv, another American officer, stated that effeminate men and transwomen within policing are looked down on because there is a correlation between the presentation of masculinity and the performance abilities of policing. As Liv stated:

¹¹³ See Chapter Three.

Extremely, extremely feminine portrayals; you have a man on the job who has very feminine characteristics. Initially from the egotistical point of view, how is this person going to help or protect me?

When I explored this further with Liv, she stated:

Their egos are through the roof. They actually feel manlier saying, well, what's bitch gonna do if this happens, you know, what's that little faggot going to do, or, he's wandering around like Peter Pan, or whatever terms they like to use.

Some trans police stated that they were specifically drawn to the hegemonic masculine aspect of policing either before, during or after transition. Holly, an American officer, disclosed that:

MTF officers are trying to live up to masculine gender expectations, and for the FTM probably the similar kind of things ... They are looking for a male-oriented job ... or something that is perceived as male oriented. Policing falls into that category ... It is a hypermasculine profession.

Mirroring Holly and others, Josie disclosed:

I don't think you do the job to hide within yourself. I think you do the job, you take masculine jobs, to stray away from anyone expecting you are trans ... That is why I did it, so people wouldn't suspect I was trans.

Much like Holly and Josie, Clair (a British constable) stated:

I entered policing to prove to others that I was tough ... I liked the idea that I could suppress my femininity ... I thought that no one would question that I was male when in reality I felt like a female.

Almost all transsexual participants disclosed that they specifically entered policing to suppress or reinforce their gender. This finding is consistent with Brown's theory (1988) of hypermasculinity¹¹⁴. Brown (1988) connected MTF trans individuals to motivational factors in hypermasculine positions in a hegemonic masculine profession, the United States military. Brown (1988) argued that MTF transsexuals are more likely to exist in hypermasculine professions, as a way to potentially suppress their internal conflict with their femininity and their feelings about the incongruence of their sex and gender identity (Brown, 1988)¹¹⁵.

¹¹⁴ This is covered in Chapter Three.

¹¹⁵ Brown (1988) did not have any FTM participants in his research; therefore, there is no evidence in his research to show if FTM are also drawn to policing.

Some trans police viewed entering the world of policing as a way to suppress their transsexuality, much like Brown's (1988) previous research. Liv, an American officer, best summed up statements from other MTF participants:

I think that always goes back to the same thing I did my whole life is what you do, is you overcompensate your whole life to, I guess, overpower all of this ... You do weight lifting, police work, anything you could do to make me bigger, stronger. The more manlier job you have, maybe it will just overwhelm this and make it go away.

American officers were not alone in disclosing why they are drawn to policing. English and Welsh constables pointed out that they too are drawn to the hypermasculine profession of policing. As Tom described it: "I was able to hide behind the uniform." MTF and FTM participants disclosed that they use the hypermasculine uniformed profession of policing to feel free to exert their male masculinity (in FTM) or to cover their femininity (in MTF). As Tom states:

Since it is expected for females to be a little bit tougher in policing, you can safely display your masculinity without too many repercussions pre-transition ... but I know a lot of MTFs where it is the opposite: they assert their masculinity pre-transition to prove something to others.

Elizabeth, another British constable, stated:

It's strange, both MTFs and FTMs are drawn to policing because of the masculinity. For FTMs they are allowed socially to be more masculine and more of themselves ... for MTFs it is the opposite, because you can hide your femininity by asserting masculinity.

This "assertion of masculinity", as Elizabeth describes it, is connected to what my participants described as purging. When the specific term purging was mentioned within interviews, I always asked for additional clarification of what the term meant, because I was not familiar with it prior to this research. As Ellie, a British constable, stated:

it sums up the struggle prior to transition ... You do things to try to fight the urge to transition ... Often you do things to purge yourself from trying to be that way ... Sometimes you try to be more masculine if you are a MTF to convince others that you are not questioning your gender. This is when a lot of people get mental illnesses or alcohol problems within the trans community, because you are trying to purge your system ... You are doing things and hiding who you are to conform.

This purging concept can be best explained by social conformity theory, which states that people conform to societal expectations out of fear of some type of social rejection from others. During this 'purging' process, individuals attempt to purge transgender thoughts or feelings by immersing themselves in a dichotomous environment that is intolerant of

any blurring of gender boundaries (McDuffie and Brown, 2010). By entering an environment which rewards and cultivates masculinity (i.e. risk-taking, stoicism, controlled violence, heterosexuality, athletic prowess and contempt for physical and emotional weakness), transgender individuals believe that the environment will suppress their desires to become feminine (McDuffie and Brown, 2010) and encourage expressions of masculinity.

6.5 Subcultural Divisions and Biases amongst Trans Feminine Identities

When conducting interviews with trans-identified police, there appeared to be a taboo topic within their subculture that is very rarely mentioned to cisgender individuals, so much so that I found no research on the topic. Officers and constables who disclosed their controversial opinions on the topic felt more comfortable disclosing this to me, I believe, because I was viewed as being relatable to the trans population because I identified as a “butch female”¹¹⁶. As Josie explained to me, being a butch lesbian often results in similar mis-gendered experiences to those in the trans community:

You know how it feels ... because of your gender presentation, and don't take this the wrong way, you know what it is like when you feel you are not passing as the gender that you are. You know what it is like to be confronted and told you are in the wrong restroom.

I believe that my role as a deemed ‘insider’ for being a butch lesbian aided in the open disclosure of topics that are not freely disclosed to ‘outsiders’. Officers and constables who participated in this research gave very candid and, at times, controversial opinions regarding an inter-bias component of trans socialisation. This inter-bias component of trans socialisation consisted of subdivisions of acceptance between MTFs, genderqueers, cross-dressers, etc. Holly, an American officer, stated:

I told myself that I could be a cross-dresser the rest of my life and that it wouldn't affect me, which turned out to be totally inaccurate. For most of us, it is a very secretive thing at first, and once you gain acceptance you gain different levels of acceptance, and my initial level of acceptance was ... well, I can be a cross-dresser and not be transsexual, because there is a big difference between the two.

Holly, who identified as a cross-dresser prior to transition, gave a detailed insight into the social divisions between MTFs, genderqueers and cross-dressers:

Cross-dressers are not real T. They are not real T girls. And I see it amongst the MTFs, not much among the FTMs ... I have noticed it and I have heard it on a direct level. I have witnessed it occurring, and I have talked to other people about how they deal with other transgender people ... They feel that they are superior

¹¹⁶ This is explored in Chapter Four and Appendix C.

to the cross-dressers ... It's ignorance for the most part. It is the same kind of bias behaviour being committed against each other in the same community.

As a member of the LGBT+ population, I have heard of inter-spectrum bias (e.g. gay attitudes towards lesbians, lesbians towards FTMs, etc.), but it was not until I conducted this research that I discovered that there is social exclusion and isolation in the form of a social hierarchy within the trans policing community itself. Notably, the trans community is diverse, and full of anomalies, and there are different subcultural expectations and perceptions. Josie, an American officer, stated:

Cross-dressers who like the feminine feel when they are dressing and there are different spectrums, but the pass-ability is really the reason why most people, why the two don't interact ... It's 'pass-ability'. You know I spent \$105,000 on the medical expenses whilst in transition, all out of pocket. I spent that money so that when I go in public, people don't know who I am.

Holly, like other trans police, stated:

There is a culture where some trans people don't hang around with other trans people who don't pass. There is a rift between people who pass and people who don't pass. And there is a rift between cross-dressers and post-surgical women. What would they have in common? You know what I'm saying? Drag queens, you know what I am saying? I mean, we dress for different reasons. I mean, we dress as a female, you know we dress age-appropriate ... To be honest with you, I wouldn't hang around a bunch of cross-dressers if they didn't pass in the venue. If I am at a trans convention, sure, if it is a convention. But do I want them in my personal life, going out and stuff? Not really. I know it sounds awful, but it is uncomfortable for me. I wouldn't have much in common with them. You know what I am saying, some activity we do together.

Josie went on to explain why this social exclusion typically occurs:

It is not an inclusion issue that people do it, it is just a matter of trying to survive the transition ... Cross-dressers dress a little bit, they have a hard time with the age-appropriate thing, and they dress younger than they are, and they always dress not really right for the occasion. They can't walk in heels. They think they can, but they walk like men in heels.

Clair, when speaking about the social exclusion that occurs within the transgender community, stated:

Is there a rift? It is more like the fucking Grand Canyon ... Transsexuals like myself are nothing like those others. We don't associate with them because they dress inappropriately ... and they don't face the same issues we face.

Like Clair, Liv described a story in which she noticed the differences between herself as a transsexual and her friend who is a cross-dresser. Liv stated that her friend dresses in “drag” every six months and it doesn’t depress him. Liv stated pre-transition that she got “really, really bad depression”, and taking off her wig at home “would kill me like I couldn’t look in the mirror”. Unlike her friend, having to present herself as a man full-time disrupted her happiness. Liv goes on to say that the hostility within this inter-trans hierarchy concept can be attributed to conflict between the part-time performance of cross-dressing and the full-time presentation of being transsexual. Liv explained why her transsexual identity is dissimilar from others who cross-dress:

In my case, you know I can literally end up hospitalised from not being able to do it.

Here, Liv is describing that being transsexual, unlike being a cross-dresser, means that one faces different medical and psychological challenges. Liv and the other transsexuals interviewed disclosed that cross-dressers have more control over how they present themselves. Thus, they could possess the ability to ‘hide’ their trans status from others. Arguably, possessing this perceived self-controlled power can lead to resentment from those who are forced to reveal their trans status to colleagues. This is similar to the resentment held by some within the gay community towards individuals who have not ‘come out of the closet’.

All of the MTF participants interviewed for this research expressed that they had some issues with being collectively included and associated with cross-dressers or transvestites. Often this revolved around the stigma of having a medical diagnosis, and thus associating with a medical condition versus undertaking an activity that is perceived as voluntary in action. Amber, a British constable, stated:

There is definitely a hierarchy. For myself, the label that I chose is T-S woman, and the woman element comes from the fact that I am post-op and my transition process is complete and I am fully into a female life. The T-S part obviously comes from transsexual, because the medical definition of what we do is cross the sex boundaries, if you wish. Modern language calls it crossing the gender divide. This is why I uphold a transsexual definition, because secondary to what we find now is that people that regularly cross-dress that are transvestite and dual-role transvestite claim the transgender term. What I find blurs the picture, the definition between transvestite – those that have a specific term of their activities in a dictionary – and a cross-dresser will again have their own specific definition, and now the word transgender is becoming transgenderist, where a transsexual revolves around the diagnosis of having gender dysphoria, and that is why there are differences between us ... It is about the life we need to live psychologically to survive, whereas transvestites and cross-dressers do it for thrill, fun, sexual

gratification, exhibition and for relaxation purposes. Their reasons are totally different.

When examining the act of gender presentation between MTFs and cross-dressers, there appeared to be a divide over how one physically presents and displays femininity. As Amber stated:

Often a cross-dresser will wear super-short inappropriate clothing. Very high heels, just doing ordinary things. Whereas us transsexuals are different ... There is a portion of us that rather would not be this way. We have to learn to accept ourselves first then move into femininity as best we can.

Gareth, a British transvestite, explained the division and differences between transsexuals and transvestites:

I sit firmly in the transvestite camp, I don't wish to take my gender issues any further, I don't feel that need to, yet I feel socially excluded from other trans identities. Transsexuals don't want to associate with me when I cross-dress.

Gareth's quote aligns with other participants' statements regarding how they chose to socialise with other trans identities. For example, if a trans feminine individual is trying to 'pass', they will not want to be seen socially with other trans feminine individuals who do not 'pass' as well out of fear of disclosure. This is similar to how some gay individuals, who are in the closet, may not want to be seen in public with individuals who are perceived as being 'obviously' gay.

Additionally, some post-op trans constables disclosed that they no longer associate with the LGBT+ community because they have severed ties with the transgender community. This is often referred to as being 'deep stealth'. Once they have fully transitioned, they may feel disconnected from those who are transitioning or have not transitioned. As Clair, a British constable, stated:

They are nothing like me. I am a woman now, not one of those freaks who dress up part-time ... I am what you would call stealth.

Claiming a 'stealth' status and socially distancing from other trans identities can arguably lead to further reinforcement of social hierarchies that may exist in the trans feminine police community.

Participants disclosed that within the 'feminine' trans police community, a social hierarchy (i.e. inter-trans feminine hierarchy concept) is based on how one presents femininity and the amount of social oppression each person faces. Post-op transsexuals are often situated at the top of this hierarchy, because they have overcome specific struggles and present their 'femininity' in more structured binary ways, or, as Clair states, are 'stealth'. Genderqueer, gender fluid and other trans feminine identities are perceived

as facing different forms of oppression than transsexual identities. Yet, they are perceived higher in the hierarchy than cross-dressers because they present themselves as genderqueer full-time, often facing similar oppressions as transsexuals. Situated at the bottom of the inter-trans hierarchy concept are cross-dressers. What is intriguing about this inter-trans hierarchy concept is that, typically, before transitioning transsexuals have either engaged in the action of cross-dressing or have identified as a cross-dresser in the past within policing.

6.6 Summary

This chapter explored trans officers' perceptions and experiences within policing, identifying a range of issues, such as social stigmas and the process of transgender status disclosure, genderqueer identities, perceptions of masculinity and femininity, why some transgender identities are drawn to policing, and the concept of an inter-trans feminine subcultural hierarchy, in order to answer the following research question:

What are the occupational experiences and the perceptions of officers who identify as trans within policing?

Transgender police disclosed that they were often forced out of the closet for two reasons: 1) because transitioning involves significant visual changes; and 2) their respective departments 'outed' them without their permission. Transgender officers disclosed that if they came out voluntarily prior to transition, it was because they wanted to be authentic to others about their transgender status, to educate their policing colleagues about transgender identities in the hopes of promoting acceptance, and for advocacy reasons. This finding contributes to Creed and Scully's (2000) research on LGB disclosure in workplaces.

This chapter also explored those who have very notable transgender visual cues and who identify as genderqueer. According to participants, genderqueer identities appear to be rare in policing because of entrenched gender binaries reinforced by hegemonic masculinity within police culture. As explored in the previous chapter and also this one, this adherence to strict gender binaries makes it especially difficult for those who do not identify with either. Participants claimed that genderqueer identities are overtly discriminated against within policing. The reinforcement of gender binaries might further encourage transgender individuals to adhere more to 'male' and 'female' appearances. The combination of these two factors may explain why genderqueer identities are perceived as non-existent within American, English and Welsh¹¹⁷ police culture but maybe more apparent in others.

Despite the difficulties experienced by some transgender individuals, this research also revealed that others may be drawn to the field of policing precisely due to its hegemonic

¹¹⁷ Due to research limitations, I was unable comparative to determine why gender queer identities are perceived more present that within American policing cultures. Certainly this is an area that would require additional research as highlighted in Chapter Eight.

masculine environment. This finding is consistent with speculations made by McDuffie and Brown (2010), who researched transgender identities in the military. For example, MTF transsexuals stated that they initially entered policing to ‘purge’ any feminine desires or transgenderism tendencies. By entering policing, they perceived that they would prove to themselves and to others that they were masculine and manly, while suppressing their feminine tendencies. Additionally, FTM transsexual participants disclosed that they chose policing as a career because, as Tom described it: “I was able to hide behind the uniform.” FTM transsexual participants perceived policing as a masculine environment in which they could comfortably and safely present their masculinity prior to transition. Because it is socially embraced within police culture, masculinity was seen as a ‘safety net’, suggesting that FTM transsexuals face less social resistance than MTF transsexuals.

This chapter also explored micro-relationships within trans feminine social cultures within policing, more specifically an inter-trans feminine hierarchy concept. On a micro level, there is social exclusion and isolation of some transgender individuals, who are at the bottom of a social hierarchy within the trans feminine police community. This appears to be heightened in policing, arguably because gender role ideologies are strictly enforced in a hegemonic environment (see: Chapter Five). In this social hierarchy, transsexuals are perceived to be superior in gender presentation, although they appear to face more forms of oppression. Often MTF transsexual participants disclosed that they do not socially associate with other-gendered identities that would make others question their own gender presentation (i.e. “clocking”). Notably in this social hierarchy, genderqueer identities in policing are regarded as having a higher social status than cross-dressers, who are often disparagingly considered to be ‘part-time trans’. I suspect that this hierarchy is more apparent within policing because of the enforcement of strict binaries and transsexual desires for heightened gender conformity.

Most occupational experiences of American, English and Welsh transgender officers were comparable: for example, their experiences of coming out, choosing to remain in the closet, perceptions of masculinity and femininity, choosing policing as a profession, and the perception of an inter-trans feminine social hierarchy. However, there existed one major observable difference between the countries, which was the perception of fewer genderqueer identities within policing in America than in England and Wales. Arguably, because there was only one significant difference between these countries, this research illustrates that the ‘working personality’ within police culture is more accurately described as monolithic than fragmented, especially in the way gender and sexuality are embedded, contested and reinforced within it.

Chapter Seven

“We don’t hire people because they are male or female ... We are going to make this work”: Transgender Perspectives of Administrative Issues

7.1 Introduction

The above quote is from a dialogue between a chief of police in America and an MTF officer when disclosing that she wanted to transition at work. This chapter explores how transgender officers are positively and negatively supported administratively within policing. This chapter, drawing upon data from 14 transgender interviewees, aims to answer this research question:

What are the reported positive and negative administrative issues that transgender individuals face within policing?

The previous chapter explored how transgender police perceive their identity in respect to their experiences within police culture. Additionally, participants disclosed that their presence can impact socialisation and acceptance within police culture. While socialisation can influence perceived acceptance or non-acceptance within policing, administrative issues can also impact or disrupt aspects of group socialisation and/or acceptance within police culture. Based on my findings presented in this chapter and by examining what makes a trans-supportive work environment, data indicated that administrative actions can impact and potentially reduce reported incidents of genderism within American, English and Welsh police cultures. Therefore, this chapter focuses specifically on the administrative issues that transgender police face and what they perceive to impact their social acceptance or non-acceptance within police culture.

This chapter centres on three major themes that emerged during this research: 1) direct forms of heterosexism and genderism within policing; 2) transition policy and leadership issues; and 3) the administrative correlates of a positive trans-supportive work environment. The first major theme, direct forms of heterosexism and genderism within policing, examines various reported forms of bias directed specifically towards the transgender community. This theme is broken into further sub-themes that examine hiring discrimination, unwarranted job reassignment during MTF transitions and transgender bathroom battles where identities are policed. The second theme consists of sub-themes that examine issues in workplace policy that impact MTF and FTM transgender identities.

This chapter further examines specific administrative complaints of transgender identities within police cultures and theorises why these complaints are more targeted towards those who transition in work environments. Specific attention is paid to administrative punishments, bathroom issues while being transgender, and genderist expressions within police work environments. Following upon collective research of LGBT+ identities within law enforcement (see: Sears et al., 2013), this research found that transgender

identities in policing are subjected to both heterosexist and genderist attacks. Furthermore, referring back to Chapter Three (i.e. Goffman, 1977), it is theorised that gendered divisions that exist in some police work environments highlight and reinforce binary acceptance. In other words, in work environments where gender differences are highlighted, transgender identities who are not perceived as adhering to gendered binaries (see: Chapter Five and Chapter Six) will face more social resistance and unacceptance. As this chapter highlights, this can then lead to more occupational complaints, like uniform violations and restroom allocations (see: section 7.2.4).

Endemically, all transgender participants stated that they had experienced at least one incident of transgender bias within their respective work environments. Yet, it was found that a combination of transition policies during transition and supportive leadership had an influence on overall reported positive experiences. It is theorised that effective leadership alongside transition policies which guide supervisors aid in administratively supporting those who transition. This in turn, reduces the expression of genderist attitudes towards those who transition in workplaces. This is a profound contributory finding as not only does the findings from this chapter highlight what the issues are, it also proposes solutions on what administrative changes may correct the issues.

As previously outlined in section 6.1, the participant demographics of the transgender officers who participated in this research are:

Figure 7.1 Transgender Participants

American Transgender Officer Participants

Pseudonym	Policing Tenure	Trans I.D.	Region¹¹⁸
Dave	18 years	FTM	Rural
Holly	35 years	MTF	Urban
Jessie	33 years	MTF	Urban
Liv	19 years	MTF	Urban
Josie	27 years	MTF	Urban

¹¹⁸ Due to ethical considerations for safe-guarding respondents an anonymous randomisation process was imposed throughout the literature. As such, it was deemed to not reveal the respondents' specific locations.

This was deemed unproblematic because this research was not exploring the differences between rural and urban environments within policing. Further, I had only one transgender participant who worked in a rural police department.

English and Welsh Transgender Constable Participants

Pseudonym	Policing Tenure	Trans I.D.	Region
Erin	15 years	Genderqueer	Urban
Tom	30 years	FTM	Urban
Sarah	2 years	MTF	Urban
Amber	7 years	MTF	Urban
Addison	15 years	Genderqueer	Urban
Elizabeth	8 years	MTF	Urban
Clair	17 years	MTF	Urban
Ellie	35 years	MTF	Urban
Gareth	11 years	Transvestite	Urban

7.2 Direct Forms of Heterosexism and Genderism within Policing

7.2.1 Heterosexist and Genderist Verbiage and Other Forms of Displayed Transgender Bias

Sears et al. (2009) surveyed 400 American LGBT+ members of law enforcement¹¹⁹. They discovered that out of 60 transgender individuals in law enforcement, over 56 (90%) reported negative experiences within their respective agencies (Sears et al., 2009). Further, of those reported negative experiences, 15% reported being terminated, 37% reported being threatened with termination, 68% reported being verbally harassed by their co-workers, 43% reported being threatened with violence, 18% reported incidents of physical attacks, and 53% felt their personal safety was jeopardised due to social isolation by their peers (Sear et al., 2009).

Further research carried out by the Williams Institute stated that LGBT+ discrimination and harassment within law enforcement is ‘pervasive’ throughout the United States (Sears et al., 2013). Sears et al. (2013) examined 57 court cases (2000–2013) and administrative complaints filed by LGBT+ law enforcement members who alleged they had faced discrimination based on their sexual orientation or gender identity. Sears et al. (2013)

¹¹⁹ Law enforcement can comprise local, state and federal members within policing, sheriff offices, corrections, etc. These findings were explored in chapter three.

found that discrimination complaints ranged from firing and demotion to severe verbal harassment, sexual harassment, death threats, discriminatory slurs, indecent exposure and complaints of inappropriate touching.

All 14 American, English and Welsh trans participants disclosed that they had experienced various forms of heterosexism and/or genderism within policing. Liv, an American officer, disclosed a heterosexist and genderist incident at work after she transitioned:

I had some very homophobic/transphobic graffiti left on a piece of paper that was our sign-in sheet at the office. It said “Fag-hag” and “fag-hag should die”.

Clair, a British constable, stated:

I had notes left on my locker that said “she-he” and “faggot”.

Heterosexist language was disclosed to be the most commonly occurring type of behaviour used within policing when administrative incidents of heterosexism/genderism were disclosed. Previous research on transgender identities found that two-thirds of LGBT law enforcement personnel reported hearing heterosexist comments on the job, with over half reporting being treated like a social outsider (Sears et al., 2013). Further, previous LGB research by Herek (1989) in the US and Thurlow (2001) in England and Wales found that heterosexist words are the most reported type of bias behaviour within policing. Colvin’s (2012) research on lesbian and gay identities within American policing found that over 70% of participants stated they have had heterosexist words directed at them at work. Unlike Colvin’s (2012) research, data indicated that transgender identities are also susceptible to heterosexist language alongside genderist language, despite how they presented their masculinity and/or femininity or their sexuality. American participants disclosed that the following words were directed at them:

- bull-dyke (Dave);
- fag-hag, he-she, shim (Holly);
- queer faggot, he-she (Jessie);
- faggot, tranny (Liv); and
- sissy faggot (Josie).

English and Welsh constables, like their American counterparts, all disclosed that they have had heterosexist/genderist words directed at them within policing. This finding is consistent with Colvin (2012), who found that 50% of lesbian and gay British constables reported heterosexist language as being the most occurring occupational complaint. Yet, as mentioned earlier, transgender identities are also susceptible to heterosexist words alongside genderist words. Examples included:

- gender-bender (Erin);
- bull-dyke (Tom);
- faggot (Sarah);
- bent, fag (Amber);
- faggot, sissy (Addison);
- fag (Elizabeth);
- he-she, faggot, shim, tranny (Clair);
- fag (Ellie); and
- tranny weirdo (Gareth).

Research on transwomen has found their sexuality to be relatively evenly split between lesbian, bisexual and asexual (Johnson and Hunt, 1990; Lawrence, 2003). Further, studies on the sexualities of transmen have found that the majority of them are sexually attracted to females (Chivers and Bailey, 2000; Devor, 1993). Further, studies on the sexualities of cross-dressers have found that the majority are heterosexual (Bullough and Bullough, 1997; Docter and Fleming, 2001; Docter and Prince, 1997). Despite most participants not identifying as lesbian or gay, all participants disclosed that they have been the victim of heterosexist verbal attacks. As Ellie stated:

I have been called a faggot and sick. It has really bothered me, but you know I am sure you have had to put up with it too. You just keep your head high and carry on.

Clair, like others, stated that her locker and administrative paperwork had been vandalised, with words like “queer” and “fag” written on them. Besides name-calling, participants disclosed that they had items vandalised or stolen from them at work. Liv, an American officer, disclosed how items were taken from her at work:

They also broke into my desk and some personal items were taken ... like photographs of my children ... It was someone within the police department, it couldn't have been anyone else, as it was an officer-only area and it was a locked desk in that area.

Like Liv, Gareth, a British constable, stated:

They broke into my locked work desk in a constables-only area and switched my glasses, male ones, for very obviously female ones ... When I mentioned that my glasses were missing, another constable walked up and said, “Those are your

glasses.” ... I didn’t get my glasses back till later, when they randomly appeared in my desk.

Besides acts of vandalism and theft, all FTM participants disclosed that both verbal threats of physical violence and actual incidents of physical violence occurred frequently. Holly, an American officer, disclosed an incident where she was threatened by a male colleague in the car park of her police headquarters. She stated that a male colleague called her a “fag, I was an abomination; I was a he-she, a shim, and a bunch of other hurtful things”. There was no administrative punishment, despite the fact her employers knew of the incident. Holly stated that the same officer eventually escalated the name-calling to physical violence when “he took a swing” at her and she promptly “punched him out”:

I tried to explain to him that just because I changed genders doesn’t mean I forgot how to fight. I boxed for a number of years.

Like Holly, Amber, a British constable, told a story about a colleague who used physical violence and name-calling:

One guy, called Dave, about six and a half foot tall and built like a, you know, big, used to come over and thump me with his fists ... He used to call me a fucking tranny, weirdo, bastard and, you know, just make comments about gay people. And, obviously, I am not gay but trans, yet it was horrible.

Some trans police stated that instead of receiving warnings of future physical attacks, colleagues would make inappropriate “threatening jokes”, as one British constable disclosed in a work diary when the subject of her genitalia was brought up:

Colleague approached me with a pair of bolt croppers when enroute to the found property cupboard; “I could save you some money on surgery” and snapped them closed. I informed him that I required my penis flesh remaining intact to have it turned inside out – the colleague then commented he would try kicking me in the crotch as that may turn inside out ... this incident was very inappropriate and I felt threatened.

Most participants stated that they had work experiences that escalated from name-calling to vandalism, to threats of physical harm, and then eventually to physical attacks. Yet, often they were afraid to report any incidents to their supervisors because they perceived nothing would be done to combat it. Clair gave a story where workplace incidents crossed over into her personal residence:

Every time my window got smashed, I got dog excrement through my letterbox, given a beating outside my house, you don’t report it cause they are not gonna do anything about it ... I was beaten up on one occasion by officers from my police force outside my house.

Clair stated that she did not report the physical incident because her force did nothing when the initial name-calling and threats started; therefore, she perceived that they didn't care and that her force was, as she claimed, "transphobic". Additionally, she stated that after the physical attack outside her personal residence by fellow on-duty officers, she was fearful of further violence had she reported it to her police administrators.

Besides biased words, threats of physical violence and physical attacks at work, all MTF participants disclosed that they were fearful of future job termination due to their trans status. This is similar to previous research on LGB identities (see: Button, 2001; Colvin and Riccucci, 2002). One participant disclosed that her story of her sequential termination made the national news. Liv disclosed that her chief of police approached her while on duty during her transition to acquire some prescription painkillers, since Liv had an unused supply from a previous surgery. Her chief of police stated he had injured his back and said he would pay her for the pills. Liv refused to accept any money for the leftover pills she had and gave them to her chief, since she had known him for years. After the incident, Liv disclosed what had occurred to her immediate supervisor, whom she trusted, and he filed a complaint and accused her of being a drug dealer despite the fact that she was potentially entrapped by her chief. Notably, Liv disclosed that the chief did not receive any type of reprimand for soliciting her for the prescribed narcotics. Liv disclosed that during the internal affairs investigation she went to the FBI out of "fear" because she felt entrapped and potentially targeted because she was trans. At the time of writing this, she is still trying to fight her agency to get her job back.

7.2.2 Perceived Occupational Bias in Hiring Practices

As previously explored in chapter six, participant's perceptions of hiring practices of genderqueer identities were examined. Yet, police who identified as transgender (i.e. MTF, FTM, transgender, cross-dresser, etc.) rather than genderqueer, reported similar perceptions of hiring bias within policing. Holly, like all trans participants, stated:

We have had some transgender applications, but they have not been accepted for various reasons, mostly because they are transgender. I observed two different background investigations going on at the same time with the exact same information: one agency hired the individual and the other did not. There was no reason not to hire the trans applicants in both agencies.

Liv, another American trans officer, stated:

There is no way any department would hire you if they thought you are trans. It is viewed as a red-flag indicator that you might have problems in the future. There is a perception that if you are trans you are mentally ill, and if you are mentally ill then you cannot be a police officer. It's sad really. I think that is why a lot of trans people do not apply to policing, because most know they will be weeded out during the hiring process and not given a fair chance.

Mirroring Holly and Liv, Josie stated:

I have heard of trans potential applicants not even being given an application when they ask for one or any fair assistance during their application process. It has been made quite clear to the community that departments do not want trans officers.

All British constables, like their American counterparts, stated that they also perceived forms of trans bias within police hiring practices. Clair stated:

If they know you are trans, technically they can't not hire you because of it, but they can easily find another reason not to because you are.

Sarah, another British constable, disclosed that discrepancies may exist between recruitment numbers and the actual hiring numbers of trans identities:

Sure, on paper and in the public eye constabularies are saying they are hiring trans constables, but where are they at? I know several members of the community who would be great constables who applied but were not hired because they are trans. There is a difference between recruiting potential trans employees than actually hiring them.

Erin stated:

There is no way to tell what the actual hiring numbers of the trans community is ... It is unknown how many applicants are actual trans ... There are other ways they can decide to not hire you if you are trans.

While all British trans participants stated that they perceived the existence of hiring bias within policing, some participants disclosed that some constabularies were better than others. Ellie stated:

There has been improvements in some constabularies, but bias still exists in hiring practices. I know some big constabularies like Manchester are doing much better about hiring practices because they are recruiting the trans community, but there is no consistency between hiring practices in the constabularies. So, you may get hired in one constabulary, but not even considered in another.

When I inquired about how participants obtained employment, since they perceive trans bias exists in police hiring practices, all participants disclosed that they didn't transition until after employment, or, in one participant's case, they hired her without knowing she had transitioned prior to employment. This finding was anticipated because previous research has already shown that transgender identities are outwardly discriminated against during American hiring practices in other professions (see: Lombardi et al., 2001; Mallory et al., 2014) and within law enforcement in general (see: Sears et al., 2013). Of particular interest is Sears et al.'s (2013) study, which reviewed 57 employment court

cases in America between 2000 and 2013 and found several key findings that are consistent with the perceptions of participants. Sears et al. (2013) found that out of all the studied 57 court cases spanning all areas of employment, 40% of all filed reports involving documented LGBT discrimination occurred specifically within law enforcement professions. Notably, in due course, this is an area that I intend on following upon with future research.

7.2.3 “Out of the Public’s Eyes”: Transwomen’s Transitions

MTF participants disclosed that when going through the process of transitioning, they were often forced into another assignment or forced to take time off from work as sick leave because they are, as Josie, an American officer, stated: “less likely to be in the presence of the general public”. Notably, I personally observed this when I worked with our department’s first transgender officer, who was moved from patrol to communications when transitioning. As she disclosed to me: “they are afraid that I will make the department look bad and they want to keep me out of the public’s eyes”.

Jessie, an American officer, disclosed that she was unwillingly removed from her job assignments and transferred to a different administrative assignment:

They pulled me off the streets so I can transition out of view of the public. I felt uncomfortable ... Many other officers had the same type of experience I had in the same time period. I personally know of some federal agents who were gonna transition and they basically put them on medical leave ... because they didn’t want them in the office.

Like Jessie, Amber, a British constable, stated:

They moved me to a paperwork assignment and away with less interaction with the public and others. At first I didn’t like it and some would see it as some sort of punishment, but I actually enjoyed it. It allowed me to transition safely without facing dismissal for transitioning.

Amber was the only MTF constable who disclosed that she enjoyed her forced job reassignment during transitioning. Notably, she disclosed that she was just thankful that she was not terminated for transitioning. Almost all of my MTF participants disclosed that if they were reassigned during transition, they weren’t reassigned willingly. As Clair, another British constable, stated:

In a way this can single you out, because there are some cisgender constables who actually want an administrative position, but I wanted to stay on the streets like other employees. So you can understand why some cisgender people would get upset if you get moved to a position they want.

Clair was not alone in her preference for not being reassigned to an administrative position. As Elizabeth stated:

I love being on the street and on patrol. I did not want to be assigned to a paper-pushing position.

When looking at American, English and Welsh police comparatively, unwanted job transfers were a reported common practice within policing when transitioning from male to female, but were never reported when transitioning from female to male. I believe this can be explained in several possible ways. First, within police culture, gender ideologies exist that positively reinforce masculinity and reject femininity, as explored in chapter six. Therefore, within policing it is perceived to be more socially acceptable to exhibit masculine traits than feminine traits. Second, there are socialised perceptions within policing of gendered bodies and how these bodies are perceived; this was also explored in chapter six. Gendered perceptions of the human body (i.e. constructs of masculinity) are often associated with strength and muscles (see: Zimmer, 1986), which are desirable traits for policing (see: Heidensohn, 1993; Hunt, 1990). Therefore, transmen may be viewed as being more physically able to handle aspects of their job than trans feminine identities. Third, transitioning from male to female involves more drastic physical changes in presentation (i.e. growing of hair, nails, make-up, etc.), whereas a female-to-male transition might not be as visually noticeable because police are not allowed to grow facial hair¹²⁰, it is socially acceptable for men and women to have short hair, and body armour may hide any evidence of a chest surgery. Arguably, the more perceived visual perception of non-heteronormative bodies may attract negative attention with policing (see: Dwyer, 2011).

Yet, another argument could be made that MTFs could be administratively punished via job transfers because they are actively perceived as rejecting masculinity. Corsiano (2009) found that displays of masculinity are culturally the norm; therefore, any expression of femininity disrupts masculine perceptions of policing environments. In reaction to this perceived active resistance to a cultural norm (i.e. masculinity) within policing, MTFs may be more administratively punished.

Finally, one of the reported reasons given by participants for being removed from the street and put into an administrative role was uniform regulations. Unlike FTM identities, all MTF participants disclosed that they have been administratively punished, or threatened with punishment, for various occupational uniform violations while transitioning. Participants disclosed that they were administratively punished for the following violations:

¹²⁰ The exception would be officers assigned to undercover or those officers who have medical reasons for having facial hair. Some police organisations in the US and the UK operate under a paramilitary uniform policy which requires officers to be clean-shaven.

Figure 7.2 Participants Disclosure of Formal Administration Punishment, or Threatened Administrative Punishment¹²¹

American Participant	Reason for Uniform Violation	Disclosed Frequency of Occurrence
Holly	Hair-length violation	2
Jessie	Finger-nail violation	1
Liv	Hair-length violation	1
	Wearing of earrings	1
Josie	'males' are not to wear make-up	1

British Participant	Reasons for Uniform Violation	Disclosed Frequency of Occurrence
Sarah	Collar-length hair violation	2
Amber	Make-up violation	1
	Uniform violation ("wrong gendered uniform")	2
Elizabeth	Collar-length hair violation	3
	Uniform violation ("wrong gendered uniform")	1
Clair	Collar-length hair violation	3
	Uniform violation ("wrong gendered uniform")	2
Ellie	Collar-length hair violation	1
Addison	Collar-length violation	1

Often these uniform violations were issued due to their physical presentation during transitioning. MTF officers were written up for violating 'male' uniform violations despite the fact that they were transitioning or had previously transitioned as 'female'. As discussed in chapter five, this can occur because MTF police are often still perceived as 'male'.

Yet, another argument could be made that MTFs could be administratively punished via job transfers because they are actively perceived as rejecting masculinity, a perceived desirable trait of a 'working police personality'. Corsiano (2009) found that displays of masculinity are culturally the norm; therefore, any expression of femininity disrupts masculine perceptions of policing environments. In reaction to this perceived active

¹²¹ Formal administration punishment is included with threats of administrative punishment because: threats of formal administration punishment also imply administrative unacceptance, I was unable to confirm formal reports versus threats of formal reports due to organisational employee confidentiality concerns, and participants disclosed that threats were just as upsetting as the formal filing of a report.

resistance to a cultural norm (i.e. masculinity) within policing, MTFs may be more administratively punished.

Comparatively, when examining participant disclosure of uniform violations¹²², gendered uniforms were an observable difference between American participants and British participants¹²³. American participants, who wear unisex uniforms, reported fewer incidents of uniform violations, while British participants reported more frequent incidents¹²⁴. Arguably, gendered uniforms could be perceived as reinforcing polarity between what is desirable (i.e. masculinity) and what is not desirable (i.e. femininity), since male masculinity is more frequent and accepted within policing (see: Appier, 1998; Crank, 1988; Heidensohn, 1992; Hunt, 1990).

Further, a gendered divide in uniforms may further heighten observable gendered differences within police culture. Goffman (1977)¹²⁵ explained that observed gendered differences could lead to more social divisions with cultures. These social divisions could be a plausible explanation for why more British MTFs than American MTF officers are punished for uniform violations. By adopting a unisex uniform, American officers are slightly reducing this observable social division.

7.2.4 Trans Bathroom Battles

Public bathrooms are an area of contention for trans officers, and even more antagonistic for officers who identify as MTF. Whittle et al. (2007) conducted research on trans identities within the United Kingdom and found that 47% of transgender individuals do not use bathrooms assigned to their acquired gender, with 7% of the transgender population reporting that they have been asked to use different toilets in public spaces. Minter and Daley (2003) found that 62% of 75 transgender people in San Francisco experienced denial of access and/or harassment while using public toilets.

Transgender individuals, when using the toilet, face being assaulted, mocked, attacked and even arrested¹²⁶. Often transgender individuals will seek a public toilet that they perceive as being stigma free and physically safe, like unisex or disabled toilets. If a gender nonconforming person chooses the wrong toilet, they face violent resistance if someone in the room disagrees with their choice within police institutions. This

¹²² Refer to figure 7.2.

¹²³ Caution should be taken when examining this data due to the small sample size and as I have stressed throughout this research, the data should not serve as a generalisation or as a representative sample. I was only allowed to examine empirical evidence of those who participated in this research.

¹²⁴ As stressed throughout this work, due to the small sample size caution should be taken when examining these figures. This chart only represents voluntarily disclosed incidents from participants and should not serve generalisations or as a representative sample. Further, a collective comparison will be revisited in Chapter Eight.

¹²⁵ Goffman's (1977) arrangement theory between the sexes will be revisited again in the following section. Also, Goffman's (1977) arrangement theory is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

¹²⁶ Currently in America there are several bills that have been proposed which would allow for those whose gender identities are questionable to be arrested for using public restrooms. One bill in Texas is proposing that a \$5,000 finder's fee could be collected for outing someone who is transgender in public restrooms.

disagreement is often called the policing of gender or misgendering and serves to devalue or delegitimise expressions that deviate from normative conceptions of gender. According to Judith Butler (1990), rejection of individuals who are perceived as non-normatively gendered is a component of creating one's own gender identity. People who are uncomfortable with the gender presentation of someone else can use gender segregation as an excuse to assert that the person is somehow a deviant, or, worse, violently express their disagreement with that gender presentation.

All trans participants disclosed issues with being allowed to use public toilets in police institutions. Holly, an American officer, gave a commonly disclosed MTF example of her fight to use the bathroom at work:

In my case I had people who did not want me to use the women's restroom. They put up a fight with the command staff about it ... There was a decision made that I would use a unisex restroom, which was located on the opposite side of the complex and down three floors from my workstation. Not convenient by any means of the imagination ... I felt it was my space ... It was my private space ... and I would use it and I was good with that. So then some other women on the floor started using that same restroom, which basically caused me to have an inability to use a restroom. So there was no access and that created some issues, and when I voiced it they set up a back-up bathroom, which was basically down three floors from my workstation in the basement next to the range ... and they put a lock on the door and they wanted a sign placed on the door basically saying 'restroom in use'. They might as well have stuck a flag that said that 'Holly is in here, don't come in'.

Here Holly is describing how she feels socially excluded from other females and targeted because of her trans status due to the gender-segregated bathroom at work. By not allowing Holly to use public toilets, police administrators are reinforcing societal perceptions of gender, which leads to displays of genderist behaviour within police culture. Arguably, allowing a work environment to police genders, as Butler (1990) states, in bathrooms, can encourage further genderist types of biased behaviours. Notably, Holly had fully transitioned when her bathroom battle began, and by all accords she is a woman. So, her agency 'policed her gender' because she is perceived as a stigma outlier in respect to traditional police female identities. This perception of being a stigma outlier can lead to social isolation and exclusion within police communities, as covered in chapter four.

Unfortunately, Holly's bathroom battle did not end when she was forced to change to an isolated private bathroom. Holly continued:

Very soon after they installed locks on this one bathroom ... instead of putting a key lock they put a latch on the inside. I used that lock and that restroom because that was what I was asked to do. When I was in there one time someone was banging on the door. The banging became a little bit more aggressive and I asked

them to wait because I was almost done. It was a small restroom with four unoccupied stalls. The banging kept getting louder and more violent. I put myself back together and went to the door, and as I am opening the door a female sergeant kicked in the stall door ... This particular sergeant knew full well the reasoning behind it, because she was one of those people who baulked about it and complained to the chief, the command staff, city manager, and a bunch of other people about why it was there and I should not be allowed to use the women's restroom. So she kicked in the door and proceeds to dress me down ... She said I had no right locking the door and I shouldn't be here anyway – you should use the restroom on the other side of the building ... You shouldn't even be in the building, sort of things.

Josie, like Holly, disclosed another bathroom story in which she started using a disabled toilet to change in and to use the bathroom “whilst people adjusted” and “out of consideration for everybody”. Josie did this after a fellow cisgender female police officer said she should not be allowed to use the women's toilet and complained to her supervisors. Eventually Josie thought this was unfair, and after continued “squawking” from other female officers, she went to the human rights and disability commission to petition to use the female toilet. Josie notably won her legal battle, and as she puts it:

I am proud that I am now permitted to use the restroom like all the other women, but I am sad because I had to fight for a basic right at my workplace.

Like American officers, British trans constables stated that when an officer discloses that they are transgender at work, police administration officials and colleagues are consumed by which bathroom they are going to use in police facilities. As Clair stated:

When you first come out, people are so concerned about which bathroom you are going to use. Most trans people will go out of their way to use a disabled or unisex bathroom just to avoid confrontations.

Tom, like other British constables interviewed, stated that he uses the unisex toilets to avoid any confrontations, but often he has to use the men's toilets. When I asked Tom why he goes out of the way to try to use the unisex toilets most of the time, he stated:

I didn't want to like embarrass the blokes more than anything, you know? I didn't want to upset anybody, so I was just very mindful about what toilets I would use.

Unlike other constables, some British constables stated that there are no unisex toilets at their police institution. As Sarah stated:

I did anything possible to not use any public bathrooms. I have had women in the past confront me and tell me to leave the loo. It is embarrassing, it is like people are saying I am not a woman despite the fact I am one now.

Much like Sarah, Clair stated:

Often I would have to hold it as long as possible to avoid any confrontations.

I believe these bathroom confrontations could be similar to what Munt (1998) and Skeggs (1999) contended. Munt (1998) stated that gender-segregated toilets serve as sites where gender is tested and proved. Therefore, if one is not perceived as “passing” this gender test, then they may be confronted. Skeggs (1999) stated that within toilet spaces, those “who appear feminine are authorized and granted the power (in this small space) to evaluate others” (p. 302). Thus, some women who use this power may be more likely to confront and police the gender of other women (Skeggs, 1999). Those who are confident in their feminine presentation (con)test others’ gender because they perceive that they visually display femininity in a socially acceptable manner.

Further bolstering this argument, Greed (2003) contended that the site of the toilet is not ‘biologically’ or socially designed for women and that public toilets are segregated dichotomously by sex and looks. In incidents where boundaries of gender difference are overtly enforced, it is socially illustrated how sites and bodies are mutually constituted within sexed power regimes. This once again can be connected to Goffman’s (1977) arrangement theory between the sexes.

Butler (1990) explained that by understanding sexed reactions, it is possible to examine how sexed spaces come to exist through the continual maintenance and enforcement of gendered norms. Therefore, trans constables can experience embarrassing and potentially abusive confrontations, along with the taken-for-granted presence of ‘normal’ women’s bodies, makes these spaces female. By being sex-segregated spaces, toilets exist as sites that (re)constitute cultural conceptions of dichotomised binary sex. Concurrently, as toilets take on the markers of femininity, these markers feminise or de-feminise bodies. Through marking the ‘abnormal’, the ‘normal’ is reinstated and (re)produces bodies within the category ‘woman’. This is how genderism can become heightened in spaces within police culture. As Cooper and Oldenziel (1999) stated:

The very creation of bathroom spaces, which are routinely separated by sex, reflect cultural beliefs about privacy and sexuality. Separating women’s and men’s toilet facilities prevents either sex from viewing, accidentally or otherwise, genitals of another ... So women’s and men’s bathrooms assume heterosexuality and the existence of only two sexes ... which rejects overt sexual expression (p. 26).

Further, some transwomen disclosed that because they are trans, they are perceived as sexual deviants by some cisgender individuals. Amber, a British constable, stated:

For a woman to think that a transsexual woman would sexually assault you in the bathroom is absurd. I think that is why some women object or confront you. I am a woman and I have a right to use the bathroom too.

Because transgender individuals do not conform to societal expectations of binary gender, their presence in a sex-segregated area raises anxieties about gender and sexuality. These anxieties can magnify into perceptions that MTFs, because they once possessed a penis, could sexually assault other women in public toilets.

7.3 Transition Policies and Leadership Issues

7.3.1 Transition Policies

Previous research on the non-police trans population has revealed that employers lack knowledge of appropriate workplace accommodations and support which is needed for individuals who are transitioning (Budge et al., 2010). Part of this workplace accommodation involves the implementation of a transition policy. In police forces where certain expressions of feminine identity were not permitted, transwomen disclosed that there were continuity failures due to a lack of a transition policy. For research purposes, a transition policy typically outlines uniform violations and how they apply to transgender employees while also enabling administrative guidance on how to manage the needs of trans employees during transition. Trans-specific administrative policy issues may be as simple as changes in uniform policy for constables who are transitioning. Issues like the growing of long hair, wearing of earrings, growing and painting of fingernails, and the wearing of deemed gender-specific clothing for transwomen are not properly addressed if a policy does not exist to guide acceptable uniform standards. For American, English and Welsh police forces, the most referenced policy that is used as an example is San Jose's Transgender Policy 1.1.2 (see: appendix)¹²⁷. The policy outlines continuing employment, gender identity and dress, changes in identification, management support, and usage of bathroom facilities, and is recommended by transgender police associations for use in police forces.

Most participants disclosed that their forces did not look to incorporate a transition policy until they had personally notified their personnel unit of their desire to transition. And in

¹²⁷ Of particular mention for British constables are:

Bedfordshire Police and Crime Commissioner Transgender Policy

(<http://www.bedfordshire.pcc.police.uk/DOCUMENT-LIBRARY/Transparency/Policies-and-Procedures/Transgender-Policy.pdf>)

Cambridgeshire Constabulary Transgender Policy

(<https://www.cambs.police.uk/about/foi/policies/Transgender%20Procedure.pdf>)

Gwent Police Employment of Transgender People Procedure

(<https://corporate.gwent.police.uk/fileadmin/documents/foi/procedures/112-13bissue3employmentoftransgenderpeoplefinal.pdf>)

Merseyside Police Gender Reassignment Policy

(https://www.merseyside.police.uk/media/12821/trangender_policy_guidance_2013-06-28.pdf)

Nottinghamshire Police Transgender Management Guide

(<http://www.nottinghamshire.police.uk/sites/default/files/documents/files/PG%20026%20Transgender%20Management%20Guide%20v1%200%20Nov%202012.pdf>)

Wiltshire Police Transgender Policy and Procedure

(<http://www.wiltshire.police.uk/information/documents/publication-scheme/policies-and-procedures/business-and-people-development/510-transgender-policy/file>)

those cases, the San Jose transgender policy was always referenced. The disclosed reasons why a transition policy was not previously used by their respective police forces were:

- 1) There is a perception that a transition policy is not needed due to the small size of trans populations within policing.
- 2) There is a general lack of knowledge of gender identity issues, legal requirements and appropriate administrative action within forces.
- 3) There is perceived hostility and fear towards transgender people generally, from both management and staff.

In forces where there was no transition policy guidance, transwomen stated that they typically had to face more administrative complaints than cisgender females because no policy existed to protect them during their transition. Additionally, because there was no transition policy at their respective forces, participants disclosed that their supervisors had no guidance on managing their specific administrative issues. Arguably, based on what my participants disclosed, a transition policy helps protect trans employees alongside administrators by providing guidance on supervisory concerns like uniforms, bathroom usages, etc.

Sarah disclosed that trans identities can feel isolated and targeted when there is no transition policy in place, because some supervisors are perceived as lacking understanding of trans identities. Sarah provided an excellent example of this by disclosing her story of being on patrol and being asked by several schoolchildren if she was a male or a female. Sarah answered the question honestly and told the schoolchildren that she used to be a man but is now a woman. One boy told his parents of the discussion, and they filed a formal administrative complaint with her department. In response to the complaint, her immediate supervisor recommended that a leaflet be written about her to hand to people in case they had questions since there existed no transition policy within her constabulary. Before Sarah's constabulary published the proposed leaflet, her Inspector asked her if it would be "detrimental if the media got a copy of it". Sarah responded to her supervisor by stating:

I sent an email back and said if it was about trans issues on a wider scale, ya, that's fine, but if it's just about me then that's a bit discriminator...which could single me out.

As Sarah's story illustrated, by not having a transition policy in place which would offer guidance on how to deal with specific issues like Sarah's story described, she felt "singled out".

Liv, an American officer, believed that the lack of a transition policy in her department hindered her and placed unwanted attention on her transitioning process. Liv, who eventually lost her job during her legal battles against her agency during the course of this

research, stated that her discriminatory treatment for being trans started when she was administratively punished for uniform violations during her transition. She started wearing earrings at work after giving her department six months' notification that she was transitioning. Liv states:

They started with the uniform policy and then they pulled a memo from 1994. There was no policy; there was just a memo from a former chief ... I got ordered to take them out, and they were like, okay, if you are not violating any policies, we will leave you alone ... So earrings came out, and then of course what did they do? You know the other girls were ordered to take them out because they had to cover themselves, and now all the girls hate you because everything is changing because of you.

Liv tried to argue to her chief that if other women are allowed to wear earrings, then she should be able to also. In response the chief banned all earrings and this began to create tension between her and the other female officers. Liv continued:

We then had a meeting about hairstyles, because all of the girls wore their hair in a long ponytail ... So I wore the ponytail for about a month, they approved a hairstyle, and I started to wear it. There were no issues for five months, and then out of nowhere the bomb dropped and there was: your hair is touching your collar. And I'm like, what are you talking about, every girl's hair touches the collar ... and they're like, we're changing everything, we are rewriting policies, and don't take this the wrong way, it is because of you ... I said you are going to make the whole building hate me.

As Liv's story illustrates, having a transition policy in place can assist a trans officer during transition while not administratively singling out an officer during transition. Holly, another American officer, stated that having a transition policy in place can occupationally help trans-identified officers to transition:

Having a policy in place that allows the employee to make their own decisions and have their own destiny. They are able to have a hand on the policy that addresses their sense of gender, their sense of self and how they choose to identify.

Notably, all transgender police who participated in this research believed a transition policy was imperative within administration. As Josie, an American officer, stated:

People in this job don't have that guidance without policy. How can they work without a policy?

Erin, a British constable, describes the lack of transition policy as:

I always use the fire-drill analogy when I try to encourage forces to develop a trans policy ... I say, you don't actually wait for there to be a fire before you

actually do your fire drill – why are you waiting for someone to join your force or stick their heads out of the barrel a bit and say ‘by the way I want to transition’ for you to say, god, we need some sort of policy around this?

Often constables are faced with direct supervisors who use policy to guide them on supervisory actions when dealing with administrative issues within policing. Just like American forces, most English and Welsh agencies have little or no guidance on a transition policy, as they vary between different constabularies, with no standardised adaptability or support from ACPO. Sarah described the importance of an approved universal policy across England and Wales:

But we have ACPO ... which is chief constables ... sort of coming together ... and a lot of things ... if they have a unified transition policy or something like that, which you then should disseminate so all police forces would get the message. In a way, they are failing us by not doing so.

During the course of this research, I discovered that out of 43 constabularies, nine¹²⁸ had independent occupational transition policies that were deemed ‘not-privately’ marked and posted online for the public to view. Besides assisting trans constables during transition, publicly acknowledging that a constabulary has a transition policy in place lets the non-police community know they are attempting to promote trans equality. As Erin, a British constable, stated:

Imagine how that would benefit a force with a transition policy posted online. It shows to the community you are supporting LGBT+ rights.

Tom, a British constable, additionally disclosed that transwomen have a more difficult time hiding behind the uniform and that uniform policies are commonly used as a tactic by management to “bully” some transwomen who are transitioning. Erin described how one agency without a transition policy treated a transwoman during her transition:

One woman wanted to grow her hair and then the inspector wanted a report and a picture of what it was going to look like and how long it was going to take ... and I was thinking ... there is no way you would ask any other female that ... but he was what you would call an old-style inspector who had a military background, and he was obviously way out of his comfort zone in managing someone who is undergoing gender reassignment.

Having a transition policy in place can provide guidance to supervisors, offer support for trans constables who are negotiating a gender change and demonstrate to the non-police population that their force is acknowledging trans identities. Arguably, this in turn can

¹²⁸ These included South Yorkshire, Nottingham, Metropolitan Police, Cambridgeshire, Kent, Gwent, Thames Valley, Derbyshire and City of London Constabularies.

facilitate a supportive work environment and provides positive continuity guidance across forces.

7.4 Administrative Impacts on a Positive Trans-Supportive Work Environment

7.4.1 Positive Proactive Leadership Support

Because participants revealed that a transition policy is linked to what they define as a supportive work environment, participants disclosed that they also believed that both a transition policy and positive proactive leadership were related to the severity of heterosexism/genderism they experienced within police culture. Additionally, when I examined the reported negative experiences of all 14 participants, I discovered that trans identities that had both positive proactive leadership and a transition policy reported fewer incidents of heterosexism and/or genderism. Notably, these participants reported more positive perceptions and experiences, such as feeling more supported, and having more positive group socialisations. As Dave best summarised what participants stated:

My supervisor told me that he would constantly have my back during my transition, by doing so, he set an example for my colleagues about his support and that he wouldn't tolerate any negative attitudes about....my transition or transgender people in general. By having this support I feel more loyal to my department, and I am happier....I plan on staying here till my retirement.

Role modelling was disclosed by participants as being a component of positive proactive leadership, because supervisors are responsible for safeguarding the equality of the organisation as a whole. Supervisor behaviour is perceived as reflecting the norms of a police organisation (see: Huberts et al., 2007). Therefore, if an employee observes that a supervisor engages in heterosexist and/or genderist behaviour, then they will perceive the organisation as a whole as potentially possessing the same views and deeming such actions to be acceptable. Here is where the old adage “leading by example” can be applicable. As Holly, an American officer, stated:

Officers look up to their supervisors, whether they admit it or not. If they see them making fun of someone or whatever, then those under them will think it is okay behaviour.

Like Holly, Josie stated:

You have to lead by example. People expect that those in charge represent how others act.

Secondly, strictness of supervisors in applying clear norms and sanctioning misbehaviour of employees when heterosexist and/or genderist behaviour is observed was disclosed as being a quality of positive proactive leadership. If we examine prior research, it has been well documented that employees are less likely to engage in negative non-rewarding

behaviour to avoid administrative punishments (see: Butterfield et al., 1996; Huberts et al., 2007; Trevino, 1992, 1999). Additionally, enforcing administrative punishments when heterosexism and/or genderism are observed establishes guidelines of what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Therefore, by establishing what is deemed to be acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, mechanisms of group socialisation are altered to facilitate rather than hinder the emergence of a trans-supportive work environment. As Tom, a British constable, stated:

You have to punish those to change people's behaviour. Once others see that it isn't allowed, then others will modify their behaviour.

Trans participants disclosed that once they come forward for administrative support (i.e. if a complaint is filed or if they need administrative assistance during transition), it is very important that their supervisor supports them continuously throughout the process. Additionally, it was disclosed that trans participants perceived that the more personable their supervisors were towards their concerns and needs, then the more supportive they viewed their supervisors' leadership.

Dave, an American supervisor and member of SWAT, disclosed his story of how he came out to his chief and his force and how proactive direct leadership led to a supportive work environment for him:

I sat down the chief and it was like a two-minute conversation. And I said, "Chief, I am transgender and I am starting my transition, do you have any questions?" And he goes, I thought that and wondered, and we talked about it for a few minutes. I then came out to my SWAT team and I would say for the most part they have been supportive. I have a very supportive group of people that I am here with ... you know? I appreciate that ... so it definitely makes it easier.

Dave attributed his acceptance within policing to his supervisor being "very open, he's non-judgemental, he's supportive, so I think a lot of it is due to him and his attitude ... that is definitely something that has an impact, is the leadership". What Dave is referring to could be explained by the leader-member exchange theory.

If we examine concepts of the leader-member exchange theory, relationships between those who lead and those who follow are viewed as more vital than the qualities of leaders (Truckenbrodt, 2000). Leader-member exchange theory¹²⁹ suggests that those in authoritative roles are likely to form different relationships and connections with their subordinates. According to the leader-member exchange theory, leaders should be friendlier, more communicative, more supportive, and more personable with those that they are supervising (Bauer and Erdogan, 2015). By leaders using this approach they are more likely to establish trust and respect-based relationships within work environments

¹²⁹ This theory focuses on the behavioral functions of leadership and how behavioral actions impact the relationship between those who lead and those who are being led.

(Bauer and Erdogan, 2015). Dave perceived his leadership as not being limited to contractual-type obligations, as described by Colvin (2014). Instead, he perceived his leadership as also having trust, open communication and information disclosure. Dave disclosed that his occupational relationship with his chief has aided in his perceived social acceptance within policing.

Yet, Dave disclosed a story in which another immediate supervisor had spoken to him:

He told me that I was going to be subjected to a hostile if not violent work environment and wanted to know if it was that big of a deal. I said it was and if it came down to that, I would defend myself.

Notably, Dave stated that he only had a few bias incidents at work and that he believed that his overall positive experiences within his department were directly connected to positive proactive leadership, mainly his chief and other command staff. What was interesting about Dave was that he came from a very small police department in the south-eastern USA, an area known for holding morally conservative views. Despite this, out of all participants, he reported the most positive occupational experiences during his transition.

Jessie, an American officer, also stressed how important the relationship she had with her supervisor had been to her acceptance within policing, which could also be explained by the leader–member exchange theory. Jessie disclosed how she was torn between wanting to transition and still wanting to be a police officer. Therefore, she went to her chief looking for guidance:

I just spilled it all out. My approach was to say, “Look, I can understand if you say I can’t be an officer here, but, you know, I will do anything. I will work in dispatch ... Just let me stay employed.

Jessie disclosed that she believed that going directly to the chief paved the way for the organisation to assist and support her during her transition. Jessie went on to say:

The chief listened and he said, “Look, we hired you because we thought you could do the job as a police officer. For almost 20 years you have demonstrated you can do that at a high level. This isn’t gonna change that. We don’t hire people because they are male or female ... We are going to make this work.

Jessie went on to disclose that her agency sat down with her and her supervisors to discuss what she needed from them during her transition and how she thought they should inform the organisation, and to reaffirm that they were going to work with her at all times during her transition. Jessie, working alongside her supervisors, planned to announce to her agency that she was transitioning, and collectively they devised a transition policy and distributed an information pack to other officers within her medium-sized department. The information pack had terms, described what being trans was, and gave additional

trans-awareness information. Jessie stated that once she went back to work after her surgeries, everyone was professional to her, creating a trans-supportive work environment. As Jessie states:

I think a good part of my treatment was of course due to leadership. There was no division, nobody wanted to object, or think that this was not right ... There were no cracks in the leadership ... The response was amazing and I was proud of my police department.

Jessie's and Dave's stories are perfect examples of how positive proactive leadership using the leader-member exchange approach¹³⁰ can impact social acceptance, leading to fewer reported complaints of trans bias within work environments. Often the upper administrators' responses and reactions to these officers' transition disclosures set the course for their acceptance within their respective units. In incidents where officers did not directly disclose their transition status to upper management, they typically reported more incidents of peer social exclusion, isolation and lack of support from immediate supervisors.

7.4.2 Transition Policies

Besides the dynamics of leader-member exchange theory, and the importance of proactive positive leadership as described above, another factor that was revealed to lead to a trans-supportive work environment was the implementation of specific 'transition policies'. Research has demonstrated that through the presence of policies and practices, organisational supportiveness is likely related to employee attitudes about the job (Law et al., 2011). Formal workplace policies formally acknowledge that heterosexism and/or genderism will not be tolerated. Furthermore, they communicate to employees that discrimination will not be condoned, which in turn can lead to decreased reports of discrimination (Button, 2004).

Previous research has shown that having formal policies in place that include trans employees may lead to a better work environment (Huffman et al., 2008). The findings of this research are consistent with Schilt and Westbrook's (2009) theory: when open workplace transitions do not receive top-down support, cisgender men and women are more likely to express resistance towards their trans colleagues. Erin, a self-identified genderqueer British constable with 15 years' experience, describes how important a transition policy with top-down support is:

My division is very friendly and I have a cautious advisor ... She knows about my background and she is cool with it ... My team know about it and they are cool about it. So I have a very supportive, accepting team around me ... They are not perfect, now don't get me wrong. You can have the best policies in the world ...

¹³⁰ This approach includes: clear communication, nurturing internal and external relationships, an appreciation of individual differences and diversity, etc.

um ... as I have learned, you have some very good policies, but it comes down to personnel, and they can decide to ignore those policies and take it into their own hands, and that is when problems generally start.





Out of all the 14 participants, those who reported the most negative occupational experiences had neither positive proactive leadership *nor* a transition policy in place. The experience of one British constable, recorded in her notebook/work diary, illustrates this perfectly:

Meeting with head of HR, SGT and INSP. It was confirmed no change in policy would occur without an expert being consulted. I voiced that I was getting headaches during foot patrol, as my hat was applying pressure onto the hairclips in my hair and ponytail – was advised to get a new hat from stores to alleviate the problem. Also told that while it was acceptable to have hair to a female standard my fingernails were however not and I was advised to trim them to a male length as two civilian members of staff had commented on them. When I defended that female officers routinely ignored the appearance standard (number of ear rings in ears, non-natural coloured make-up, painted fingernails) I was told that wasn't an issue for the current meeting.

Clearly, this constable's request to be treated equally as a fellow female colleague go unanswered. The fact that her force did not have a transition policy in place to support her uniform presentation, coupled with the fact that there was no policy guidance for her supervisors, left her feeling, as she described it, "targeted".

When participants disclosed working in supportive environments, there was always a transition policy combined with positive proactive leadership in place (i.e. disallowed bias behaviour towards the employee, emotionally supported the employee transitioning, etc.). Conversely, when my participants experienced unsupportive work environments, missing was either a transition policy or a lack of positive proactive leadership, or both. The following illustrative chart is a summary of the relationship between having a policy versus not having one and positive proactive leadership versus unsupportive leadership in relation to trans occupational experiences.

Figure 7.3 Transition Policies and Leadership

	No Policy	Policy in Place
Positive Proactive Leadership		
Unsupportive Leadership		

7.5 Summary

This chapter explored the occupational issues that trans officers face within police culture in America, England and Wales. The following themes emerged from the interview data: hiring bias, discrimination via unwanted job reassignment, lack of transition policies and the impact of leadership in combating heterosexist and/or genderist behaviour. In combination, these have provided much needed information to answer the following research question:

What are the reported positive and negative administrative issues that transgender individuals face within policing?

Based on the many positive and negative experiences that were disclosed, the severity of heterosexism and genderism seemed to vary according to whether two administrative factors were present: the existence of a transition policy, and the existence of positive proactive leadership. Transgender police who reported positive work environments disclosed that both are needed to create a trans-supportive work environment. In respect to leadership, trans police reported fewer negative incidents when they were able to rely upon positive proactive leadership.

The data indicated that positive proactive leadership includes several elements. First, supervisors must be positive role-models by setting a good example for their employees to follow. By not engaging in heterosexist and/or genderist attitudes or behaviours, this is discouraged amongst subordinates. Second, supervisors of transgender employees must be strict in applying clear norms and sanctioning misbehaviour of employees when heterosexist and/or genderist behaviour is observed. Third, supervisors should at all times during pre/post transition provide continual supervisory support of trans employees who ask for assistance or are observed to need help. Finally, supervisors of transgender police

who possessed humanitarian values, who had some form of personal connection to their employees and showed that they cared, made a particularly positive impact.

According to participants, a negative work environment for transgender officers equates to heterosexist and genderist verbal attacks, vandalism of personal items/areas, theft of personal items, threats of physical violence, and actual physical violence. Further, participants perceived that job discrimination towards transgender individuals is rampant within police culture. As highlighted, uniform violations along with the denial of bathroom usages or the 'policing of gender' also contribute to a negative work environment for transgender individuals. I theorised that this occurs because gender differences are highlighted within uniforms and the segregation of bathrooms. As previously discussed in Chapters Three (i.e. Goffman, 1977), it is theorised that this observed social division between 'male' and 'female' leads to the heightened displays in respect to the policing of gender.

MTF police specifically disclosed that they have been the victim of misgendering and verbal attacks for using the bathroom assigned to their new gender at police institutions. It was suggested that because masculinity and the reinforcement of gender binaries is predominant in police culture, bathroom confrontations between police may occur more frequently. Therefore, my findings suggest that those who visually challenge the gender binary will face more social resistance in gendered spaces. Further, there appeared to be more occupational complaints against MTF British constables than against MTF American officers. This unexpected finding might be attributed to the traditional binary gendered uniforms used within British policing. Compared to the unisex uniforms used in America, the gendered uniforms used in England and Wales provide an extra visual cue, enabling the enforcement of gender role ideologies, and creating heightened stigma for infractions. This situation increases the probability of British officers receiving more uniform violations. Notably, all of MTF participants reported some type of gendered uniform violation, but it was a far less frequent occurrence for the American officers.

Through capturing the in-depth accounts of trans police working in America, England and Wales, this chapter has clearly illustrated the importance of two key factors for promoting a positive work environment for trans officers: 1) positive proactive leadership; and 2) a transition policy which provides guidance for supervisors and trans officers alike. The evidence presented here indicated that having both in place can lead to positive trans occupational experiences, whereas having neither in place was likely to result in more complaints and grievances.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

This research employed a thematic qualitative approach to examine how transgender identities are perceived and treated within American, English and Welsh police organisations. During this process, the following research questions were answered:

- 1) What are the perceptions of cisgender officers towards transgender officers, and what are the consequences of these perceptions?*
- 2) What are the occupational experiences and perceptions of officers who identify as trans within policing?*
- 3) What are the reported positive and negative administrative issues that transgender individuals face within policing?*

While answering these research questions, cisgender and transgender perceptions of gender and sexuality within policing were explored. Further, through analysis of detailed interview data, this research examined what creates a trans-supportive work environment within American, English and Welsh police organisations. This chapter discusses empirical, theoretical and policy contributions of this research while offering some concluding thoughts about policy recommendations and directions for future research.

8.1 Main Themes and Contributions

During the course of this research, several dominant themes emerged. Revisiting chapter five, cisgender police categorisations of heteronormativity and gender ideologies were explored together with the consequences of these (mainly negative) perceptions of LGBT+ colleagues. Cisgender participants disclosed that LGB officers, in conjunction with transgender officers, were collectively perceived as violating heteronormative perceptions of gender ideologies. Thus, I interpreted that the data suggested that transgender identities are observed more negatively within police culture than LGB identities. Cisgender participants disclosed that heteronormative perceptions of masculinity influenced their opinions of gender role ideology and their views of job and gender performance. Those who are not apparent as conforming to heteronormative aspects of ‘masculinity’ were observed as more likely to experience negative forms of social rejection. Further, participants disclosed that officers who were interpreted as challenging social expectations of ‘maleness’ (i.e. transwomen) were more likely to be socially rejected within policing compared to officers who were interpreted as challenging ‘femaleness’ (i.e. masculine and/or lesbian women).

In chapter five I argued that this potentially occurs because trans feminine identities are perceived as a threat to the ‘working personality’ hegemonic masculinity component within policing, which in turn can be interpreted as a disruption to a fundamental aspect of police culture itself. In other words, trans feminine identities challenge police culture because they ‘offend’ or complicate perceptions of masculinity. Further, data suggested

that masculinity performance is culturally, socially and biologically associated with genital constructs. Those who are MTF were perceived by cisgender participants as defiantly challenging these constructs, because psychologically, socially and biologically they distance themselves from elements of masculinity and aspects of the male body. Therefore, MTFs are perceived as gender betrayers and police cultural rebels for not embracing their 'maleness'. FTM police identities, on the other hand, did not appear to be as socially rejected as other transgender identities according to participants.

To further explain why certain transgender identities are perceived as not accepted within police culture, participants suggested that cisgender heteronormative sex/gender/sexuality ideologies rest upon the perception that there are two, and only two, opposite sexes who are attracted to each other, and these are determined first and foremost by a person's physical body, primarily their genitals. Therefore, transwomen are not perceived as 'female' because they lack a vagina, and transmen are not perceived as 'male' because they do not possess a penis. This binary heteronormative perception that gender is biological reinforces and generates genderist ideologies within police culture.

When exploring the occupational experiences of transgender police in chapter six, social stigmas towards heteronormativity and gender role ideology were disclosed as being influential in transgender occupational experiences. Transgender officers stated that they were often forcefully 'outed' because transitioning involves significant visual changes, or their respective departments 'outed' them without their permission. Further, transgender officers disclosed that if they came out voluntarily prior to transition, they had various motivations for doing so. These motivations included a need to be authentic to others about their transgender status; for educative reasons, because they wanted to let those in policing better understand transgender identities for socialised acceptance; and/or for advocacy reasons, because they wanted to represent something positive for the transgender community.

Transgender occupational experiences and how transgender police perceive they are treated within police culture were also explored in chapter six. Much like Brown (1988) found when examining trans identities within the United States military, I also discovered that trans identities reported that they were more drawn to police work because of the socially understood and perceived hypermasculinity components of the profession. I found that a majority of pre-transition trans feminine participants were drawn to policing in an effort to 'purge' or suppress their transsexuality. By entering policing, MTF participants perceived that they would be able to prove to themselves and to others that they were masculine and manly when they were questioning their gender. By doing so, they perceived they were suppressing their femininity. Unlike MTFs, FTM transsexual participants perceived policing as a masculine environment in which they could comfortably and safely present their masculinity prior to transition and that it would be socially embraced within police culture. Because of this masculinity 'safety net', FTM transsexuals are also more likely to be drawn to policing. My research provides new

insights by addressing this issue within policing and by examining the experiences of FTMs (which Brown's (1988) study did not include). Furthermore, this finding also supports Brown's (1988) argument that this 'flight to masculinity' is not just restricted to military cultures, instead it is associated with police cultures too.

Chapter seven explored the specific occupational complaints of heterosexism and genderism disclosed within the interviews and the administrative issues associated with employing LGBT+ officers. Analysis of the interview data indicated that the severity of heterosexism and genderism faced by officers varied according to two factors: the existence of a transition policy, and the existence of positive proactive leadership. First, interviews revealed the importance of supervisors setting a good example and not encouraging subordinates' heterosexist and/or genderist behaviours. Second, supervisors must be strict in applying clear norms and sanctioning misbehaviour of employees when heterosexist and/or genderist behaviour is observed. Third, supervisors should at all times during pre/post transition provide continual supervisory support for trans employees who ask for assistance or are observed to need help. Finally, supervisors of transgender police must possess empathy and an emotional connection to the employees they supervise (in other words, demonstrate that they care).

One particularly interesting finding from chapter seven was the discrepancy between the frequency of occurrence of uniform violations by transgender individuals within American, English and Welsh policing. English and Welsh constables, who wear gendered uniforms, reported more occurrences of uniform violations than their American counterparts, who wear unisex uniforms. Notably, American MTF officers reported fewer complaints about hair-length violations, make-up violations, fingernail violations, etc. than their English and Welsh counterparts. It was suggested that the use of gendered rather than unisex uniforms creates an extra visual perception of conventional gender norms, which heightens the stigma associated with those who contradict gender role ideologies (see: Goffman, 1977). This was an unexpected differential finding between American and English-and-Welsh policing and points to clear recommendation for policy, as discussed later in this chapter.

This chapter also pointed out that comparatively, despite geographical location or respective force size, positive occupational experiences are once again related to the presentation of masculinity within policing. So, the more masculine someone identifies along the trans spectrum, the more likely they will be to report less negative experiences than their more feminine counterparts. Second, regardless of geographical location or respective force size, the more positive (i.e. supportive) a trans officer's supervision is, the more likely they are to report a positive occupational existence. Third, there is an association between having a transition policy in place combined with positive (i.e. supportive) leadership and positive trans occupational experiences. Fourth, there is an association between not having a transition policy in place combined with negative (i.e. unsupportive) leadership and an increase in negative occupational experiences.

Participants who belonged to forces that have neither a transition policy nor positive proactive leadership reported more negative occupational complaints. Finally, trans officers and constables who come out directly to their highest supervisor – that is, their chief or superintendent – reported more positive top-down leadership support from their respective forces than those who came out first to their immediate supervisor. These new insights demonstrate how important administrative support is to the acceptance of transgender identities within policing.

This research also found that components of genderism exist within the trans feminine police culture on a micro level. This is evident in the social exclusion and isolation that is present in the form of a hierarchy within the trans community itself. I refer to this theory as the ‘inter-trans feminine hierarchy concept’. Within the inter-trans feminine subcultural hierarchy concept, those who are not post-op transsexuals are viewed as less of an oppressed identity and lack inadequacies in presenting ‘femaleness’. Often post-op MTF police refuse to associate with others who may be perceived as ‘not being female’, like those who part-time cross-dress. For example, if a post-op MTF presents her gender as female and her gender is not questioned by observers in society, then her identity as a female might be challenged if she is seen in the presence of a noticeable transgender individual. In essence, they may be ‘clocked’ or identified as being trans by being seen with those who are more distinguishable as trans. This theoretical idea highlights that transgender identities (much like cisgender identities), can possess bias towards other members of the transgender community. So, transgender bias and the reinforcement of adherence to strict binaries can occur within all members of police culture, cisgender and transgender. From a sociological perspective, this is an intriguing finding, because most post-op transsexuals have engaged in the action of cross-dressing or have identified as a cross-dresser in the past. Therefore, genderqueer individuals and cross-dressers are socially rejected by some cisgender individuals and transsexual individuals alike.

8.2 Policy Implications

Previous research has indicated that transgender employees, like other minority groups, experience substantial stigmatisation in workplaces (see: Barclay and Scott, 2006; Berry et al., 2003; Dietert and Dentice, 2009; Gagne et al., 1997). Transgender police disclosed that they were socially excluded and marginalised like other minority populations, but that they experienced another layer of problems due to the stigma related to their gender identity. Similar to other minority groups, workplace discrimination was experienced as interpersonal in nature, and sometimes subtle (e.g. perceived biases in hiring, unwarranted job reassignment during transitioning and being unable to use police bathroom areas), although its effects were nonetheless injurious (Hebl et al., 2002; King et al., 2006). Compared to previous police research (Burke, 1993, 1994; Colvin, 2012; Jones, 2014; Jones and Williams, 2013; and Loftus, 2008), this research presented a specific comprehensive account of the occupational experiences of transgender officers and identified factors that facilitate a trans-supportive work environment.

Based on this research, and in particular the findings presented in chapter seven, strategies at integration, especially a better understanding of trans identities, depends directly on administrative factors like positive leadership and the implementation of a transition policy. Further, participants stressed how important it is to have social support from the upper ranks, i.e. ‘positive leadership’, which was directly related to their job satisfaction. Conversely, when positive leadership was absent, transgender police faced less social acceptance, more complaints of heterosexist/genderist workplace incidents and lower job satisfaction. Being administratively supported through positive top-down leadership from middle and upper management seemed to produce positive feelings and a sense of loyalty towards their organisation, similar to research conducted in non-police organisations by Law et al. (2011). Based on this research, the following recommendations are offered with the aim of improving the occupational experiences of transgender identities within American, English and Welsh policing:

- 1) There must be non-discrimination and zero-tolerance harassment policies within all police organisations.
- 2) There must be equal opportunities in recruitment, during hiring practices and during all stages and aspects of police employment.
- 3) There must be a transition policy to protect both the employer and the employee who wish to transition at work.
- 4) Police institutions should consult with transgender members of staff on policies and incorporate their input on the formation of transgender policies if there is not a policy in place.
- 5) Police agencies should make it known publicly that they support transgender rights and encourage the hiring of transgender police by providing their transition policy transparently online.
- 6) Transgender employees should have the same access to bathroom and changing areas as cisgender police and/or there should be unsexed bathrooms within police institutions for those who prefer to use them.
- 7) Any workplace disclosure during transitioning must be handled sensitively and professionally at all times – medical privacy and decency must be maintained throughout all stages of an employee’s medical transition.
- 8) Transgender employees who identify as genderqueer should not face administrative punishment for not adhering to binary gendered work rules (e.g. hair length and fingernail length), since they do not identify with conventional gender role ideologies.

For English and Welsh forces specifically, two additional policy recommendations are suggested:

- 1) Dress-code policies must accommodate transgender employees; therefore, it is recommended that British agencies move away from gendered uniforms and/or allow constables the freedom to choose their preferred gendered uniforms.
- 2) Constabularies in England and Wales should acknowledge and educate all employees on ACPO's "Transgender People in Employment Guidelines" (2009), as most unwarranted complaints could be avoided if these policies were known and followed.

While I applaud forces that have already implemented positive leadership and transition policies, it is obvious that there needs to be more overall consistent improvements within administrative practices to successfully accommodate trans identities within policing. This is particularly apparent in forces where trans officers reported extreme levels of heterosexism and genderism which involved administrative complaints. I suggest that by implementing these policy recommendations, transgender police will face fewer occupational complaints, an area worthy of future research attention. This could be explored in two different ways: by examining agencies before and after policy change recommendations, or by comparing agencies that do not have these recommendations with those that do.

8.3 Comparing American, English, and Welsh Police Cultures

Reviewing results from this research, in respect to perceptions of gender, there appeared to be stark similarities in how transgender identities are perceived and treated within police cultures. As highlighted in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, all participants identified important barriers that may affect transgender integration and acceptance into police culture. These barriers often centred around the reinforcement of masculinity, often hyper masculinity, that is institutionally instilled into all facets of police culture regardless of region. Further, due to this infusement of hypermasculinity into police cultures, there exists strict gendered divisions as to what is acceptable "female" presentation and "male" presentation (See: Chapter Three). These deemed acceptable gender presentations in return lead to social unacceptance of identities who challenge perceived "femaleness" and "maleness". While these rigid expectations of what gender is, and how it is preformed, lead to group unacceptance of transgender identities in police culture.

That said, there did exist small identifiable differences between American, English, and Welsh police cultures: police uniforms and genderqueer identities. Transgender participants reported more incidents of administrative punishment and administrative complaints in respect to uniform violations in English and Welsh police cultures than their American counterparts. As theorised in Chapters Three and Seven, I believe this can be explained through heightened visual differences of the uniform itself. Referring back to Goffman (1977), social interactions and spaces are constructed in ways that highlight gender differences. Since there exists a highlighted gendered difference between the uniforms between men and women in English and Welsh police cultures, transgender identities who either change gender or exists in-between genders report more complaints.

Their American counterparts, on the other hand, reported less administrative complaints because there does not exist a gendered division of uniforms. This theoretical contribution illustrates how gendered uniforms can impact gendered acceptance within work environments.

Another small identifiable difference between American, English, and Welsh police cultures was the more perceived presence of genderqueer identities. Referring to Chapter Six, it was revealed that genderqueer identities were more likely perceived to exist in English and Welsh police cultures than American police cultures. It is unclear why genderqueer identities are more apparent in English and Welsh police cultures than American ones. Yet, English and Welsh genderqueer identities, like other transgender identities, face similar work and social barriers, which include the social reinforcement of strict gendered binaries and overt discrimination by colleagues.

8.4 Limitation of this Research

While this research has made several contributions to the literature, limitations should be noted. The first limitation would be the usage of qualitative research as a research method. As discussed within Chapter Four, when conducting qualitative research (much like quantitative research) there exists outside influences which might impact the data, like researcher bias and other idiosyncrasies¹³¹. Further, unlike quantitative research, validity issues may arise from these outside influences leading to criticism that qualitative research is not scientific in nature because it does not deductively support or refute any possible theories. Instead qualitative research can only better understand the meaning that individuals give to a phenomenon inductively. Qualitative research attempts to overcome these issues by encouraging researchers to identify personal stances and biases, yet one of its major weaknesses is that the researcher is often unable to remain in the background. Thus, a researcher's presence alone in the analysis of data arguably can impact the meaning that is derived from any recorded data.

In respect to establishing confirmability, objectivity and reflexivity¹³² were an issue. While some qualitative researchers argue that real objectivity is inherently difficult within itself (see: Patton, 1990; Shenton, 2004), my objectivity could easily be questioned. I was at times connected to several portions of this research, thus I was unable to remove who I am as a researcher from what I was researching. As a member of the LGBT+ community and a former police officer I openly acknowledged that during the course of this research, I possessed researcher bias¹³³. This was explored extensively in Chapter Four and in Appendix C. Notably throughout this research I adhered to being as transparent as possible, yet I acknowledged that my connection to this research could have influenced how I interpreted that data or even how I even constructed my methodology.

¹³¹ See Chapter Four.

¹³² This was explored in Chapter Four.

¹³³ While I did not see this as research shortcomings, others may view it as such.

As a practitioner turned researcher, a limitation of this research also exists in who I am as a researcher. As pointed out in Chapter Four, as a police officer I was trained to present ‘facts’ with little room for exploration or interpretation. For example, when writing a police report, I had become accustomed to presenting evidence as factually as possible, without any analysis. This is very different to academic research, where the very notions of ‘facts’ and ‘objectivity’ are contested. Another researcher with the same data may have chosen to analyse the data differently, or to explore a different theoretical angle. Notably, a large bulk of this research relied upon me as a researcher and how I interpreted the data.

Besides limitation issues with a quality criterion for trustworthiness¹³⁴, this research also had a small sample size. Notably, there are very few individuals who identify as transgender, especially within policing, and even fewer who were willing to participate in my research. As such, this research can only represent the perspectives of its participants and should not be interpreted as representative of all police officers serving in America, England or Wales (whether they be trans or cisgender). Therefore, it is suggested that further research is necessary in order to provide a prevalence estimate of the types of workplace experiences and issues revealed by this research.

Another research limitation was that my sample lacked any BME participants. All of my participants were white; there were no BME transgender participants. Therefore, future research on this topic should aim to address this limitation by focusing on the experiences of BME officers in order to enable an intersectional analysis of race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality within policing. If given the opportunity to do this research over again, with more time in which to do it, I would have attempted to explore this issue by reaching out to different police networks and specifically sampling from agencies that comprise a larger BME policing population.

8.4 Future Goals

As long as police culture perpetuates and upholds binary gendered ideologies, those who challenge our societal perceptions of gender and sexuality may be victims to forms of heterosexism and genderism. Yet, collectively as a society we must acknowledge and encourage the integration of those who challenge gender roles within policing. The reality is that police should reflect the communities they serve (Adlam, 1982; Attwater, Bernhart, and Thompson, 1980; Bent, 1974; McNamara, 1967), and it is of vital importance that officers are aware of transgender issues, and encourage transgender employment within policing.

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to highlight why transgender identities face social resistance, while examining what can be done to improve the social integration of trans identities into policing. This research discovered several occupational and administrative issues within American and British policing and answered the research questions I set out to answer. Yet, I also discovered that as a researcher I gained additional

¹³⁴ Refer to Chapter Four.

questions during this process. While I have pointed out empirical and theoretical findings, I found that I have only begun scratching the surface of this research topic area. I am anticipating in due course following up this research to answer questions that have arisen, including: Do my recommended policy changes have a beneficial impact? Is there an effective way to screen the police for indications of heterosexism and genderism? Does an improvement in occupational attitudes of the police towards LGBT+ identities improve public confidence in the police? If I am unable to answer these questions myself, I intend to assist others to empirically address these questions in order to move this field of enquiry further

Finally, this research afforded me several opportunities to which I would like to draw attention. First, I grew as a researcher and became more knowledgeable of transgender identities in general. Second, I have incorporated my research into diversity modules at Cardiff University and Liverpool John Moores University. Third, I have had the opportunity to present my research to different practitioners, policy-makers and academic audiences.

In the short term, I plan on writing several academic journal articles covering the findings of this research. In the long term, I plan on continuing this research while advocating for police improvements on how agencies interact with transgender individuals. Further, I would like to contribute to a book chapter on queer criminology that includes, as opposed to excludes, trans identities. While this research uncovered examples of positive acceptance of transgender identities, transgender officers continue to face unique struggles in their quest to gain social equality within police culture. As Clair, an MTF constable, stated: "It takes balls to be trans within policing."

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Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet



Research Participant Information Sheet

Heterosexism and Genderism within Policing: A Comparative study of Police in the U.S. and the U.K.

Information for participants

Background to the Study:

I am a PhD student at the School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University, and my research is looking at diversity attitudes within policing; more specifically the impact that sexual bias has within law enforcement and what agencies are doing to combat it. A main aim will be to explore how police officers in the United States and the United Kingdom address policing the LGBT+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) population and to measure how adequately officers have been trained in diversity regarding the LGBT+ population.

Who is the researcher?

My name is Heather Panter and I am 35 years of age. I was a tenured police detective (11 years) with a large American police department. This research is self-funded and holds a considerable amount of academic interest for me. I am primarily interested in studying the potential existence of heterosexism in policing and if necessary, discover what can be done to improve police interactions with the LGBT+ community.

What is involved?

An interview that can be conducted at your convenience in respect to any personal experiences you have encountered or observed during your tenure. Individuals are encouraged to freely discuss their perceptions and observations during their police tenure. All names, departments, and other affiliations will be anonymous. The purpose is to examine what can be improved in police training in regards to policing diversity communities.

Who can take part?

The information being collected for this research will be positioned from the perspectives of actively serving officers or any officers who have served within law enforcement. This is an opportunity for officers to express their opinions in regards to sexual diversity training and opinions towards the LGBT+ community.

Will the data be anonymous? How will the data be stored?

Due to the sensitivity of the topic of LGBT+ identity and relationships to the police community it will be essential that all data is dealt with in an anonymous and confidential manner. As such, pseudonyms will be created for all participants. The purpose of this research is not to single out specific departments or specific officers, but instead focus on generalized policing in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Further, all participants will be given assurances that their details will be kept and their identity will remain anonymous. In regards to conducting interviews of serving officers, it is understood that utmost confidence in non-disclosure of your information will be arranged. As stated earlier, as a retired police officer, your confidentiality and trust are of utmost importance to the researcher. All data will be anonymous using pseudonyms and all participants will be made fully aware of the intent of this research, and allowed the opportunity to withdraw at any point.

Online participants' data will be completely anonymised. One-on-one interviews will be recorded and fully transcribed. The recordings will be kept in a secure location on a locked and encrypted USB drive and only the researcher will have access. Individual names, agency affiliations, and job titles will not be included in reports.

How will the research be used?

This data form from this research will be used for:

1. PhD thesis
2. Academic research papers and presentations
3. A summary report to be circulated to all interested participants or participating organizations.
4. Improvements, if needed, in current diversity training programs within police academies or police policy recommendations.

Contact Info:

Please get in touch if you would like further information:

Heather Panter, M.S.

Email: PanterHA@cardiff.ac.uk

Phone: 07849027696

Post: Cardiff University School of Social Sciences

1-3 Museum Place

Cardiff CF10 3BD

If you have any problems or concerns about this research, you may contact my supervisors at Cardiff University School of Social Sciences:

Dr. Amanda Robinson (RobinsonA@cf.ac.uk)

Dr. Matthew Williams (WilliamsM7@cf.ac.uk)

Thank you for your assistance and your service to your communities.

Appendix B: Confidentiality Agreement

Heterosexism and Genderism within Policing: A Comparative study of Police in the U.S. and the U.K.

Please read the following statements and please initial in the appropriate box to confirm that you agree with each statement.

	Participant Initials	Researcher Initials
I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet of this study. I have been given enough time to consider my participation and have had the opportunity to ask any questions that I may have, and these questions have been answered satisfactorily.		
I understand that anonymous extracts from our discussion in the interview that is recorded and transcribed maybe used in a PhD thesis, future academic papers, presentations and publications.		
I consent to the interview being taped using a digital tape recorder. I understand that I will be offered a typed interview transcript and given the opportunity to amend anything that I do not want included in this study until said thesis is formally written up.		
I understand that my participation within research is entirely voluntary and I can withdraw at any point.		
I agree to participate with this research.		

Name of Participant (please print)_____

Date_____Signature_____

Name of Researcher (please print)_____

Date_____Signature_____

Appendix C: Reflective Personal Stories within Policing

Reflective exploration, in research circles, allows the social sciences to expand the ontological, epistemological, and axiological limitations that previous qualitative research had not allowed (Ellis and Bochner, 2000). Reflective pieces additionally allow approaches that acknowledge and accommodates subjectivity, emotionality, and the researcher's influence on research as opposed to hiding these matters or assuming that they do not exist (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner, 2011). Researchers have realized the benefits of reflective pieces in regards to the positive response to critiques of canonical ideas about what and how research should be done (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner, 2011). Specifically, researchers who fully and freely disclose their insider role as a researcher seek to concentrate more constructive ways of producing meaningful, accessible, and evocative research grounded in personal experience. This research stance should sensitize readers to the issues of identity politics, to the controversial experiences surrounded by silence, and to the forms of representation that empathize with people who are different from us (Ellis and Bochner, 2000).

Reflective pieces should not only use methodological tools and research literature to analyse experiences; they also consider ways how others may experience similar epiphanies and the usage of personal experience to illustrate facets of cultural experience (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner, 2011). This process involves the detailed description of experiences of a researcher in a narrative form. The benefits of including a reflective section is that (1) it enhances cultural understanding of one's self and others; (2) it offers a more intimate perspective; (3) a properly constructed reflective piece expands and opens up a broader perspective of the observed; and (4) provides meaningful and useful insight by giving researchers the ability to record cultural experiences that may not have been properly recorded by quantitative and traditional qualitative measures. As such, detailed personal accounts drawn from a researcher's personal experiences help understand a particular culture, and in this case it is police culture. Using guidance from previous reflective pieces like accounts presented by Sparkes (1996) and Dauphinee (2010), I have produced this section of my research as a series of readable reflective stories in a series of dialogs, rather than a theoretical reflective piece as Wolcott (1994) suggests.

A. Credibility

In regards to any reflective piece, questions should arise to the researcher's creditability. Important questions should be asked in order to confirm the creditability of the researcher. Questions like: Could the experiences of the researcher be described as experienced?; Is the described experience and dialog as experienced as the researcher perceived as it is reported?; Would a reader make the same observations?; Would a reader in the researcher shoes experience the same emotions?; and Does the researcher have 'factual evidence' to back up the experiences?.

In the case of this research, I took every measure to ensure that the presented experiences are true and accurate portrayals of my experiences and observations during my years as a

police officer. The experiences, told in a series of reflective stories, were taken from field notes in my second notebook where I personally experienced and witnessed heterosexism and genderism while serving as a sworn police officer. Notably, these incidents were not recorded as a researcher and they were recorded as a type of occupational documentation. I collected these incidents and dialogs as a means to protect myself should there be an internal investigation into any claims of police unprofessionalism.

This common practice of personal documentation in the field of policing exists for officers to arm themselves when supervisors or fellow officers accuse them of minor or major occupational infractions. It is a record of what was said, how it was interpreted, and who was present. This is often called the two notebook rule. Under the two notebook rule, officers possess two notebooks, one for official police reports which contains victim(s) info, suspect(s) info, vehicle(s) info, crime scene drawings, and any other essential information needed to construct an official police report; with the second notebook containing records of personal and occupational documentation of incidents. This note-taking practice is a typical routine in law enforcement culture to prevent lawsuits and complaints that are a commonplace within policing circles, yet most criminological researchers are unaware of its common practice within police culture.

Thus, for reflection, I have drawn from my own personal second notebook to illustrate several critical incidents which can help explain how I constructed meaning from my participants' stories and how I interpreted my research data. In essence, the reason for including it in this research is because it full-filled three main contributing factors in this research. First, these reflective stories provide a rare glimpse into the socialization aspects of negotiating police culture as a lesbian which is similar to some of my participants' stories. Second, it highlights my views and why I possess them which might have an influence on how I conducted and analysed this research. Third, it aims to assist readers in further understanding the findings of this research by providing some type of visualization on how these incidents occur in certain social spaces within police culture.

While these reflective pieces (i.e. reflective stories) are presented in a series of readable dialogs they are not notably word for word verbatim. When these incidents occurred, I wrote down the conversations immediately after or even during my interaction with fellow officers to insure their content accuracy. While recording these workplace incidents, I had no idea how much these experiences would influence my future role as a researcher. Notably, I have omitted names, ranks, locations, and times to protect the confidentiality of those officers involved. These reflective pieces, or stories, are divided based on historical occurrence, into the 3 phases of my policing career when my own police identity was being formed: as a police recruit, as a police rookie, and earning my police veteran status. These stories shaped how I perceived police culture and how I negotiated it, much like my participants of this research, as a social out-grouper within police culture. Thus, it is imperative that my experiences and observations are explored.

B. Police Recruit Stories

Between the time periods of February 13th, 2001 to August 21st, 2012 I was employed with a major police department in the United States. During my tenure, I worked under the capacity of a sworn officer and was promoted to a Field Training Officer in 2003 and then to police detective in 2006. I held positions within patrol, training, and investigations. I was assigned to narcotics working in undercover capacities, burglary investigations, larceny investigations, aggravated assault investigations, aggravated battery investigations, sexual assault investigations, domestic violence investigations, and other general investigations. During this time period, I unknowingly collected police field notes on the dynamics of police culture itself from a cop's standpoint, my position in it, and observed the impact heterosexism and genderism has on fellow police officers and the communities they are sworn to protect.

On February 13th, 2001, I began my police training as a police recruit for my agency. My first day of academy training started when my class attended a police funeral of the first female officer to die in the line of duty with my agency. This was the first time I was introduced to Reiner's (2000) sense of mission when we were told the 'sheepdog and wolves' story that was covered in chapter four. Based on my observations during the funeral of how officers were socializing, I perceived that everyone got along despite their differences and I would be entering a supportive familiar environment. Notably, during traumatic incidents, like a death in the line of duty of a colleague, differences are not typically perceived as highlighted and the bonding between officers is heightened. Yet, in due course I realized how naïve my assumptions of LGBT+ social acceptance within police culture were within my respective police department.

During police recruit training, the first half of the day typically entailed physical training activities and the other half of the day involved academic aspects of the job. The physical training encompassed hand-to-hand combat techniques, arrest techniques, physical conditioning, and the usage of any type of force. The academic activities incorporated criminal laws, criminal procedures, stop-and-frisk, and other various educational departmental policy training. As such, within the third week of training at the police academy we received 50 minutes total of diversity training in dealing with members of the LGBT+ communities. The instructor was an openly out serving supervisor within our department stated "don't call anyone out there a 'fag' guys; otherwise you will end up in some trouble". The training was presented in a semi-formalized structure which allowed fellow police recruits to ask questions within the last 10 minutes of the training, but no one participated in this section of the training. As a police recruit not out as gay, I viewed this in a conflicted way. First, I was impressed that my police department actually had LGBT+ specific training, even though there was no mention of trans identities. Yet secondly, I was insulted by the lack of professionalism displayed by the training coordinator on the module. I assumed because she was a fellow lesbian, she would have invested more expressive thought into promoting LGBT+ awareness besides telling fellow officers which words are socially appropriate and which ones were not. Thirdly, I

had a glimpse into the future of some of the perceptions of fellow colleagues if everyone had to specifically be warned to not use the 'fag' word.

After weeks of training, I noticed that there were very limited LGBT+ role playing exercises that we participated in when making mock arrests in training scenarios. The usage of mock training scenarios is a very beneficial police training method as it allows police recruits to apply learned criminal law and procedure to typical emergency calls when discretion is required. This type of training allows officers to make judgment calls without any danger of physical injury to officers, witnesses, suspects, and victims or any repercussions from civil lawsuits if a wrong decision is made. This environment allows recruits to learn from their mistakes, and in addition, for other recruits who observe the scenario to learn also. If there were any LGBT+ training scenarios used during the course of academy training, the scenario actors portrayed the LGBT+ victims and suspects in an over-the-top fashion. This entailed males acting flamboyantly in a stereotypical manner which is often associated with effeminate gay males.

During the course of these scenarios, fellow recruits snickered and laughed at the actors, without any academy correction. It should be noted that very few mock scenarios were used involving lesbians, bisexuals, transgender, or gender variant individuals during our training. If character roles representing the LGBT+ community were used it typically entailed situations of domestic violence versus other mock scenarios involving theft, robbery, rape, murder, assaults, and traffic violations. There was no training on involvement with transgender officers, offenders, suspects, witnesses, or victims. In response to a colleague's question about arresting a member of the transgender community and which jail intake should we take them to, we were told "if it has a penis, it goes to male lock-up no matter what it looks like".

Based on these few experiences, I was terrified to reveal to my class-mates that I was gay despite the fact that most people assumed I was by my outward physical appearance. I tried instead to focus on getting through police academy, as it was very demanding and there exists little time for extensive social interactions. In time, I came out to my classmates after feeling pressured to disclose my sexuality since they had started questioning me about my personal life.

Before I came out to my fellow female classmates, they had no issues with showering or changing clothing in front of me after our physical training. Notably, our changing facilities were open with limited enclosed privacy barriers and all the female recruits had to share a small area. Additionally, we were on a constant time-scale to change into our police recruit uniforms from our P.T. uniforms daily to complete our formal morning uniform inspections. This time-scale typically consisted of 15 minutes to shower and to be inspection presentable with parade shined shoes and creased uniforms according to regulations. Once I came out to fellow female class-mates, they then began to show awkwardness around me and never changed in my presence again (often changing in a

small private toilet stall). I immediately perceived this type of behaviour as an indication that they were uncomfortable sharing a public space with me while changing.

My female colleagues, once talkative and very social with me, stopped socializing with me once I came out to them. Over time, some of my male colleagues even changed their behaviour too. Once I came out, male recruits started calling me “79” in the hallways and laughed when I walked by. Notably, the term “79” is short radio code for a “snatch thief”. Undaunted by some of the treatment I received as a police recruit I assumed that once I left the academy, things would positively change in respect to my social acceptance within police culture.

C. Police Rookie Stories: Learning Police Culture

After completing six months of successful academy training I received my gun, uniform, and badge and began my three rotations of shift training, commonly known as field training. During field training, you are assigned to a veteran who is certified as a Field Training Officer (F.T.O.) who monitors and guides you during the shift. Often this entailed responding to 911 calls while conducting daily routine patrol activities for a period of up to 6 weeks. During my field training time, September 11th had just occurred and in a rather unorthodox manner we were assigned to 12 hour shifts with no off-days. During field training I had one F.T.O. bluntly ask “you ain’t one of those fags are ya?” Startled, I responded that I am a lesbian. From there our conversation continued:

Male Field Training Officer: So, we got a few of y’all on the department.

Me: Really, I was not aware of that.

Male Field Training Officer: Yep...some of the best female cops we have on the department are gay. I know a few but I don’t know any gay guys on the department. I know we got this one guy on the department who is going through the sex-change thing to become a woman you know.

Me: Really, where is she assigned?

Male Field Training Officer: They got the “he-she” assigned in communications because of the hormones and how the general public may perceive a six-foot-tall man with long hair who dresses as a woman. I think they are afraid of how the department will look, but to be honest with you when people need help they don’t give a damn about how an officer may look. Sure, it’s strange but who am I to judge.

Me: Do you think she needs to be on the street like us instead of buried somewhere in communications?

Male Field Training Officer: I got no problem with the “he-she” being out here like the rest of us, but I ain’t gonna be friends with “it” or meet “it” for lunch.

Me: Why is that?

Male Field Training Officer: I just don't understand it I guess. I hope you don't think that is offensive or anything.

Me: Well...you are entitled to your opinion. I really don't care what someone looks or acts like in that capacity, I always will have their back if they are in the same uniform and a good cop.

Male Field Training Officer: I guess you are right.

Me: But, just to let you know if she prefers to be addressed as she you probably should address her as such. It takes a great amount of fortitude to face other officers while changing genders don't you think?

Male Field Training Officer: I never thought about it like that. Well, I guess you would know more about it than me. I guess as long as they back me up I guess I could deal with it.

Over time, I realized that my Field Training Officer was an excellent patrol officer who policed without his personal bias getting in the way, but he was a product of the "old-school" days of policing when sexuality and gender presentation outwardly appeared pretty clear cut and dry. It appeared that the attitudes he had towards the LGBT+ community was due to a lack of actual experience with members of the community and his perceptions were a by-product of stereotypical heterosexist and/or genderist society's views. Eventually, my F.T.O. asked me a series of typical inquisitive questions about my sexual orientation without displaying any intentional outwardly heterosexist and/or genderist behaviour. I soon realized that he had limited experience with working in close quarters with LGBT+ officers and during my last day of training with him he apologized for using the "fag" word because he did not understand how deconstructive it was to describe a member of the LGBT+ community and thanked me for opening his eyes as LGBT+ identities. I believe this is a perfect example of Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory in action. By my F.T.O. have more social interactions with me as a member of the LGBT+ community (i.e. his perception of a foreign concept of existence) he began to become more socially accepting and knowledgeable of LGBT+ identities. In other words, LGBT+ identities began to 'normalize' and became less socially foreign for him.

After completing field training, I was assigned to my first patrol assignment where I encountered initially some offensive behaviour from fellow colleagues after I walked in on them making crude jokes about my sexuality. One of the younger officers in particular was quite crude about his comments saying "we got another lezbo", "she just ain't had the right dick yet" (while grabbing his crotch), and "I know why she is a lesbian, she is just afraid of the dick". This usage of this heterosexist language perfectly demonstrates what underlies the domination of hegemonic masculinity; reinforced by Meyers et al. (2004) who state that police work and culture is pervaded by heterosexism.

Undaunted by the comments, I stuck to my daily patrol and kept to myself most of the time, always backing up fellow officers when they needed help. Initially, I felt very socially excluded and isolated from my fellow patrol officers but that soon changed over time. During one incident, the same particular officer who made crude comments about me was involved in a physical fight with a suspect and a signal for an officer down call came across the radio. Realizing I was the closest responding officer, I responded as quickly and safely as I could and was able to place the fighting suspect into custody and call an ambulance for the hurt officer. After the suspect was secured in handcuffs, the young officer and I engaged in some controversial banter:

Male Officer: You know what, you faggots aren't too bad.

Me: You know what, you homophobic red-necks aren't too bad either.

After a laugh, I explained to the officer that the word "faggot" is offensive and he shouldn't use it anymore. The officer nodded and apologized for making crude comments about me and stated that he just "didn't get it". I told him I would be more than happy to explain it to him and in time I did, with the officer eventually becoming one of my dearest friends. Once again this is another example of Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory in action. Additionally, the officer disclosed that he felt the need to prove his masculinity by insulting my sexuality in the presence of other male officers since he was not married and he was afraid by associating with me that he would be labelled gay himself. This is similar to Bernstein and Kostelac (2002) found as discussed in chapter two.

Over time I was able to gain the respect of fellow officers after having to prove myself by being a 'good cop' and maintaining my beat and backing up others. Often I felt unsure if the difficulties I had faced were because I was a woman, or if it was because I was a gay woman. It took close to two years before officers began 'sticking up' for me, when I was given my first official beat I was responsible for patrolling. One particular instance involved a younger colleague correcting a male in custody who was mouthing off inside the precinct.

Male Arrestee: Look at this bull-dyke. Looks like you need to be fucked by the right man baby, I would tear you up.

Male Officer: Hey man, shut the fuck up. She is one of the best cops we got and she is family. Don't talk like that about her. How would you feel if someone talked about your sister like that?

Male Arrestee: Whatever...what are you gonna do about it faggot lover.

Me: It's o.k. man (tapping my colleague on the back). I ain't paying him no attention.

For the most part if I did encounter blatant heterosexism and/or genderism within policing, it was from officers stating their personal opinion due to lack of involvement with members of the LGBT+ community as previously discussed. Particular instances involved responding to 911 LGBT+ domestic calls and officer's perceptions of LGBT+ couples. While walking up to a two-deep emergency call the following conversation with the assisting officer took place:

Male Officer: Dispatch advised that this is a gay domestic call, so heads up.

Me: What does that mean?

Male Officer: Come on Panter, you know these gay domestic calls are violent. More violent than other domestic calls; I have seen guys pour bleach over their lovers' clothes and cut them up with a knife. Hell, I have even seen them stab one another and cut each other's shit up really bad. And you got to be careful because of AIDS.

Me: I guess I have never viewed it any different than any other domestic call.

Male Officer: I am willing to bet that gay domestics are the most violent calls you will encounter in your career.

Me: Really? Lesbians too?

Male Officer: Even more so, ain't nothing like two women scorned—know what I mean? There is a whole lot of oestrogen going on there.

At this point, I could only shake my head in disagreement as we approached the residence where the 911 call originated since I did not want the callers to overhear our conversation. It should be noted that after 13 years of policing, all domestic violence calls have the potential to be violent nor did I observe LGBT+ domestics occurring more frequently or more violent than their counter-parts as I had been commonly told.

Several times officers freely disclosed their personal opinion in regards to the perceived level of violence in LGBT+ domestic violence calls, even if there was no proof that they were more frequent or more violent. Often times when observing fellow officers, as a back-up officer, they would roll their eyes and use incorrect political terms such as 'man lovers' which had a negative contention focusing on the sexual activity between the couple, or use the word 'tranny' when referring to a member of the trans community. I also observed that officers were much more likely to arrest members of the LGBT+ community on a domestic than a heterosexual one, regardless of the violence level of the call. As one senior officer told me "...you gotta lock them up no matter what! The drama level of a gay domestic is so high they will keep calling 911 and then your supervisor will get onto you". In situations like these, particularly with senior officers, I would sometimes

keep my head down and not object to what I had heard opting to instead pick and choose my battles.

While I am embarrassed of doing so in my rookie days, I knew by not standing up to every crude LGBT+ comment or stereotypical remark that I potentially perpetuated any bias attitude a fellow colleague might have possessed. Upon hind-sight, I knew I had to choose my battles because I was afraid of some type of personal social rejection or I did not possess the courage to stand-up to an older officer. Therefore, I often found myself torn between wearing the uniform as a cop and living the life of an openly gay woman trying to set a good example of gay identities within policing. Notably, this is a common experience shared with my participants as covered in chapter seven and eight.

Over time I noticed officers increasingly began asking for my personal assistance on LGBT+ emergency calls because they physically appeared to be uncomfortable or afraid of being labelled homophobic if they decided to arrest an LGBT+ offender. As one officer told me, "...its o.k. if you arrest them, they can't claim you are homophobic since you are gay". As such, often I felt a twinge of betrayal to fellow members of the LGBT+ community when other officers requested me to handcuff their offender. I also was frequently raised via radio to assist on calls involving transgender men and women in both pre-op and post-op stages, including those who identified as other types of gender variant. I observed that officers had a hard time asking members of the transgender community what their gender was for generic police forms. I commonly observed officers ask "so....do you have a penis or what?" before even getting a person's name. I tried my best to correct the improper language and behaviour when I observed it especially in regards to a person's gender identification. Yet, at times I felt I wasn't doing enough. It wasn't enough for me to be gay in uniform and being a walking advocate, therefore this is one of the many reasons why I chose to pursue this research.

One specific memorable incident were I felt torn between being a cop and being a member of the LGBT+ community occurred when I arrested a transwoman in a club for punching a straight male patron after she was repeatedly taunted and called a "faggot" in front of other patrons. Notably, I am unsure why any person with LGBT+ bias would enter a gay establishment, but it occurs. Additionally, in America it is an individual's constitution right to use terms like 'faggot' and they cannot be charged with any crime for doing so. Since the transwoman committed the only criminal act of the incident, I had to arrest her. While placing her under arrest, she promptly called me an "Aunt Molly". This feeling of betrayal is somewhat similar to what black officers describe as being called "Uncle Tom" when on patrol. Buhrke (1996) found this occurs frequently within the LGBT+ community and it is how many LGBT+ individuals view LGBT+ officers, even though he doesn't mention the terms "Uncle Tom" or "Aunt Molly" specifically. In Buhrke (1996) explanation, fellow LGBT+ members perceive LGBT+ police officers as a form of social traitor and betrayer of LGBT+ rights. By being a member of the police, LGBT+

officers are seen as turning their back on years of oppression by the same agency they represent.

Besides issues with heterosexist and genderist terminology and actions, I observed major issues with officer discretion. During one particular casual discussion, an officer mid-way through his career told me how he used a prior legal ruling to his favour when investigating and using discretion on a robbery call:

Male Officer: Want to hear a funny story?

Me: Sure man.

Male Officer: I got a call a few years ago of a robbery to a residence involving a gay man. When I pulled up he was running down the street and looked like he was chasing someone. He told me that someone had stolen his New York police officer uniform that was made out of leather and \$200 dollars. Right away I knew it was going to be some crazy shit. So, I relocated the “victim” back to the incident location that was at his residence.

Me: Ya. Then what?

Male Officer: Well, he finally started telling me the truth about what really happened. He told me that he met this guy and they came back to his house to have sex in some kinky role playing cop thing and the suspect put on his custom leather New York City police officer’s uniform and tied him up after having sex. The suspect then took the \$200 dollars from his dresser and then ran out of the room. And can you believe it, the “victim” said he had the suspect on video doing this and started to play it for me to show me what the guy looked like.

Me: Well, did he?

Male Officer: Hell no, I didn’t want to see that. I told him that it was a crime for two males to have anal sex and that it was a felony and if I saw the video I would have to lock him up for it.

Me: But that law was taken off the books years ago man.

Male Officer: I know, but he didn’t know that. Hell, it got me out of having to do a robbery report.

Me: That’s messed up man.

Male Officer: (laughing) I know, but it sure was funny. Somewhere in (city name omitted) there is a gay man wearing a leather cop uniform and \$200 dollars richer.

Me: You do know you let a perp go, hell if he is tying people up he might even murder someone.

Male Officer: Well, I thought it was funny and it saved me a lot of paperwork.

It should be noted that the officer who disclosed this story did so with a disgusting sense of honour and humour when other several officers were standing around comparing other 'war stories'. The other officers standing around with me just rolled their eyes and walked away in a disapproving manner.

D. Earning my Police Veteran Status

During the process of integrating into police culture, there is a typical process of socialization that occurs that can be connected to the concept of the "blue wall of silence" (see: Silverman, 1999; Walker, 2001). During recruit and rookie days you are told and adhere to 'keeping your mouth shut' when speaking to veteran officers and 'to mind your business'. Often group socialization is non-confrontational and when you observe occupational bias, whether against you or towards others, you typically do not confront those displaying the behaviour. This is why it is so difficult for minority officers, particularly LGBT+ officers to make it through their rookie days while being non-confrontational and instead observing and learning from the environment they are thrown in.

Typically, it is not until officers begin to gain rank that they gain more fortitude by being more active in standing up for wrongdoings and confronting officers who display bias. Depending on the force size and the amount of 911 calls handled, an officer transitions from a rookie status to veteran status after five years or more. Or, as they said in my previous department, 'you are a rookie until the first time you get sued or kill someone, then after that you become a veteran'.

During this process of transition to veteran status, you learn to stand-up more for yourself and for fellow colleagues. In essence, the fear that you used to possess in challenging police administrators or fellow colleagues diminishes comparatively to the amount of police action or amount of social interaction you have had while being a police officer. You feel that you have already proven yourself as an officer in the field and inside the precinct, thus you become more socially independent and you lean more towards a less grey understanding of what is socially 'wrong' versus what is socially 'right'. This concept also explains why rookie officers, who are relatively socially unknown, face more negativity for 'rocking the boat' by reporting observed wrongdoings. This is how components of the "blue wall of silence" are reinforced, or to borrow academic terminology, 'institutionalized'.

As a police veteran, the first time I actively stood-up for a colleague against my administration was when we had our first transgender officer on our department. After completing her surgeries, she was assigned to the precinct I was assigned. Prior to her

arrival, fellow officers discussed their feelings towards her without giving her any credit to her performance as an officer. Prior to her arrival among the negative hallway chatter I noted a maintenance man installing a key lock on the public women's restroom in my precinct.

Curious, I asked the maintenance man why he was putting a lock on the women's bathroom door and not the men's. He told me "I don't know, go upstairs and ask the bossman". I assumed he was speaking about my commander at the time, so I walked upstairs to his office. I asked my commander, who was very kind to me and actively stood up for me when I was the only gay person in the precinct, why was a lock being placed on the women's restroom. He stated that a female colleague had expressed concern over the transfer of a transwoman to our precinct and did not feel comfortable using the women's restroom if she used it and he was going to distribute keys to only "female" officers in the precinct.

Stunned by his remarks, I asked if I could shut his office door because I was concerned who might overhear our conversation and I thought my head was going to explode in anger. I promptly told him that what I was going to tell him would prevent our department from being sued and possible negative media reporting over the incident. Visibly confused, he patiently listened to me. I told him that if a transwoman identifies as female she deserves to use the women's restroom, especially since it was in a public city building. I went on to tell him that we are not the bathroom gender police. I told my commander that if any person identifies as a woman she deserves to use the restroom as much as I do, to deny someone's rights (especially a fellow police officer) as a human being would be deplorable. I additionally told him that there are privacy stalls inside the restroom and the female officer who had an issue with her using the bathrooms had no grounds to complain about it.

During the conversation, I learned that the same female who had complained had also an issue with me as an out lesbian using the same facilities as her. At that point, I then concluded that it was a supervisor based on previous interactions I had with her and how she treated me. The supervisor in question was known to be anti-LGBT+, extremely religious, and had decorated her office with extensive bible quotes. So much so, a concerned fellow officer asked if the bible quotes offended me. I jokingly told my concerned colleague that the bible quotes don't burn my eyes anymore as I have been accustomed to them being raised in the south since it is common knowledge that lesbians practice witch-craft and ride brooms. It was at this point, I realized that some officers do not have a sense of humour.

Back to the story, I pointed out to my commander that it was his sergeant who had the issues and not the other female staff members; he apologized to me and told the maintenance worker to not install the lock. To this day there is still a hole in the women's restroom where the lock installation was never completed and my fellow trans colleague

does not know about the incident, or the fact that I went to upper command. While none of the other females, notably non-LGBT+ stated anything about the incident, the female sergeant in question still complained to other colleagues about not banning our trans colleague from using the same toilets. So much, so I eventually confronted her on the issue.

Besides standing up for fellow colleagues, I also had to stand up for myself when I made detective. Prior to my first day assigned to my narcotics team, typically 8 officers per team, my new sergeant pulled all of my team members into his office and told everyone that the new team-member, me, was a lesbian. I found out about this from a female team-member who thought it was wrong since he had not done the same for other team-members who were black, white, or Asian. Once I found out, I went to the sergeant directly and discussed my disappointment how he had disclosed information about me that might have impacted first impressions of me when I was trying to fit into my new team assignment. The sergeant laughed the incident off and said he was just trying to make sure that everyone was comfortable working with me because I was “very gay”. In response I told him “you should be more concerned with how I tolerate bigots on this force”. I thought I had nipped the issue in the bud when I confronted my new sergeant, but a week later I was advised that another male colleague refused to touch anything I touched because “you don’t know where her hands have been”. I confronted this colleague one-on-one, just like my supervisor, hoping to work the matter out behind closed doors. When I confronted the colleague he confirmed that he had said the comment and he had an issue with ‘faggots’. Notably, I did not file a formal complaint against my colleague and my supervisor, because I had learned from other officers that doing so only makes matters worse.

Photos of researcher during assignment to a high-risk narcotic warrant entry team



Before I even became a member of the team, I felt socially excluded by my colleagues and my supervisor. These experiences, with others, while assigned to narcotics made me feel like I was excluded because I was gay and marked the darkest time during my policing tenure (1 year and 3 months). I began to hate policing, police culture, and my homophobic and transphobic colleagues that I was forced to spend 16 hours a day with (in narcotics, most shift work lasts longer than 8 hours). In due course, I voluntarily requested a transfer out of narcotics due to the occupational bias I went through. Thus ending my detective career as I had started it; in general investigations where I was more respected and socially accepted.

In reflective conclusion, I believe by being open in who I am as a researcher aids in establishing more creditability to how I constructed this research. While I have faced more positive acceptance within police culture than negative, I believe it is important to point out why I pursued this research. I conducted this research because I have felt personally connected to it at times. Additionally, these experiences aided in a more in-depth understanding of the similar experiences that my participants disclosed, I believe research of this nature requires a specific and greater level of empathy. This empathy afforded me as a researcher, a more privileged position when building rapport with participants. Besides building rapport with participants, being an insider with similar experiences afforded me access to a marginalized group that has never been researched before. Notably, I believe by being open about my background and why I conducted this research, it demonstrates my intentions as a researcher of pursuing the truth.

Appendix D: Sample Interview Schedule

Sample Interview Schedule: cisgender participants- first interview

1. Description of what my research entailed. I advised participants that I was examining LGBT+ bias within policing, more specifically attitudes towards transgender identities.
2. Rapport building.
3. What type of person is needed to perform policing effectively? What is an important quality to possess to be a good officer?
4. What is your opinion of LGBT+ identities?
5. What have your experiences been with LGBT+ identities while on patrol? For example, have you had a bad or positive experience patrolling the LGBT+ community?
6. Tell me how you feel about transgender identities in general.
7. Do you have any issues patrolling the transgender community? If so, can you explain these issues and why you believe they exist?
8. I am interested in any interaction you have had with LGBT+ members within policing. Do you believe you work in a supportive LGBT+ environment?
9. Do you view your department supportive of lesbian/ gay/ bisexual identities within policing, specifically?
10. Do you view your department supportive of transgender identities within policing?
11. I am interested also in the interaction you have observed other officers to have had or your interactions with LGBT+ identities. Can you describe your most positive experience with members of the LGBT+ community? More specifically, interactions with the transgender community?
12. Could you describe your observed or personally experienced negative interaction with members of the LGBT+ community? More specifically, interactions with the transgender community?
13. By now a good sense of participant's perceptions towards LGBT+ identities should be known. You have described your opinions about the transgender community while on patrol and within policing. Can you tell me if you have always felt this way or has your perception changed since entering policing?
14. Is there anything that I have not asked or we have talked about that you feel is important? Is this something that you would like to discuss?

Sample Interview Schedule: cisgender participants-subsequent interviews

1. Follow-up upon what was discussed in the previous interview.
2. Pick up from last interview. Has anything changed or is there anything you would like to add to what was discussed previously?

3. I wanted to clarify some statements about what you have observed and your perceptions towards LGBT+ identities with policing. How do you believe policing can improve relationships with the LGBT+ community, if this is something that you believe can be improved upon?
4. How can your administration can aid you in addressing or overcoming these relationships?
5. Can these recommendation work within policing, if warranted? Further, how can policing aid in the integration of transgender identities within policing, if warranted?
6. Issues specific to the participant were follow up in further detail, if relevant.

Sample Interview Schedule: transgender participants

1. Description of the purpose of research. I stressed to transgender participants that I am exploring transgender bias within policing and my desire to improve work environments for transgender police. I stress that my research is not just limited to their experiences of being transgender, but it also is focused on perceptions towards LGB identities.
2. What type of person is needed to perform policing effectively? What is an important quality to possess to be a good officer?
3. Do you believe lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities are viewed differently within policing than transgender identities? How do you believed that they are viewed as similar?
4. What has been your most positive observed experience with police interactions with the LGBT+ community? If a participant disclosed a particular interaction with a specific LGBT+ identity, I would ask further questions relevant to the experience and how they interpreted the interaction.
5. What has been your most negative observed experience with police interactions with the LGBT+ community? If a participant disclosed a particular interaction with a specific LGBT+ identity, I would ask further questions relevant to the experience and how they interpreted the interaction.
6. What are some issues within your department that you have had to overcome?
7. If you chose to transition on the job, how did you find your 'coming out' experience?
8. Was the department open to your needs during your 'coming out' process?
9. Was you department supportive during your transition? If a participant disclosed that they were genderqueer, I did not ask transition questions unless they brought it up. I did so because I was aware that some genderqueer identities do not take any steps to medically transition.
10. What administrative police improvements would you recommend that should be implemented to improve transgender integration into police culture?

11. What specific occupational issues should be changed to accommodate the needs of those who are transgender?

Sample Interview Schedule: transgender participants-subsequent interviews

1. Brief synopsis of what the results are showing. I disclosed what my cisgender participants disclosed in respect to their perceptions of transgender identities. I used this as an opportunity to confirm with participants if they are surprised with the results. I would then explain that in this interview, I want to shift the focus more towards how things can be improved within policing for them.
2. I explained to participants that during my first interview with transgender officers that there appeared to be a hierarchy of social acceptance within the transgender police community itself. I asked participants if they agreed or disagreed with this.
3. I discussed with participants that preliminary results are indicating that leadership and having a transition policy in place have been observed as creating more positive transgender experiences within police culture. I then asked the participant how important both of these are to them administratively within policing.
4. Issues specific to the participant were follow up in further detail, if relevant.

Appendix E: San Jose Transgender Policy

City of San Jose

City Policy Manual

Transgender Policy

1.1.2

PURPOSE

To provide guidance for all City employees in creating and maintaining an environment free of discrimination and/or harassment of employees who are transgendered, transsexual or who are in gender identity transition.

POLICY

1. Continuing employment

An employee who is transgendered or transsexual and considering or undergoing the Real Life Test (RLT), also referred to as "transitioning" gender roles, shall continue employment in their specific classification and position. In an effort to make the transition easier for the transsexual employee or coworkers, a temporary or permanent transfer to a different assignment may be requested by the employee or department.

2. Gender Identity

During transition, an individual might choose to adopt the dress and identity of the new gender role. At the same time, the employee might choose to adopt a new name that conforms to the target gender. The City's response to the employee's decisions regarding dress and name change during transition will be to use personal references to the employee that reflect the new gender (he/she, her/him) and to use the employee's new name. Appropriate identification documents (City Identification Badge) will be allowed to conform to the employee's new name and changing gender upon receipt of official documentation that the employee is undergoing transition. Because personnel and payroll documents are determined by an employee's name on the Social Security Card, those records will be changed upon submittal of a Social Security Card in the employee's new legal name.

3. Management support

Department management will provide assistance to the employee and the employee's workgroup to effect a smooth and positive adjustment to the employee's gender identity change. This can be done by developing clear communication regarding the transition process, maintaining a discrimination free workplace, and providing training or consultation as necessary by outside consultants or speakers specializing in workplace transition issues.

4. Use of facilities

The appropriate restroom facility to be used by an employee in transition will depend, in part, on the work location and available facilities and will be assessed for each individual. During transition, the employee may use a single-occupant bathroom (male or female). In employee only areas, an inside lock or latch may be installed to

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Original Effective Date: July 1, 2004

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Transgender Policy**1.1.2**

insure privacy when only multiple-occupant male only or female only restroom facilities are available. If the employee is at a remote site and unfamiliar with the restroom accommodations or the restrooms are gender specific multi-person facilities, and no other accommodations are available, the employee should use the restroom appropriate for their gender presentation. Once the transitioning employee has completed the process through surgery, they may use any facility designated for use by their assigned gender.

PROCEDURES**NOTICE THAT EMPLOYEE IS TRANSGENDERED OR UNDERGOING GENDER IDENTITY TRANSITION**

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Employee | 1. Provides written notification to Department Director or designee with accompanying documentation from treating physician or health care professional. |
| | Documentation should include a timetable for the transition period, with a request of the type of support and assistance the employee will require during transition. |
| Department Director | 2. Works with employee to develop a support plan to implement Transgender Policy. |
| | Support plan should include education and information for employee's workgroup as necessary. |
| Office of Employee Relations | 3. Assists Department Director in implementation of Transgender Policy. Investigates and resolves complaints of harassment and/or discrimination based on gender identity in accordance with the City's Discrimination and Harassment Policy (CPM Chapter 1.1.1) |

Approved:

/s/ Alex Gurza
Director of Employee Relations

3/28/05
Date

Revised Date: March 28, 2005
Original Effective Date: July 1, 2004
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Appendix F: Further British Work Policy Examples:

Bedfordshire Police and Crime Commissioner Transgender Policy

(<http://www.bedfordshire.pcc.police.uk/DOCUMENT-LIBRARY/Transparancy/Policies-and-Procedures/Transgender-Policy.pdf>)

Cambridgeshire Constabulary Transgender Policy

(<https://www.cambs.police.uk/about/foi/policies/Transgender%20Procedure.pdf>)

Gwent Police Employment of Transgender People Procedure

(<https://corporate.gwent.police.uk/fileadmin/documents/foi/procedures/112-13bissue3employmentoftransgenderpeoplefinal.pdf>)

Merseyside Police Gender Reassignment Policy

(https://www.merseyside.police.uk/media/12821/trangender_policy_guidance_2013-06-28.pdf)

Nottinghamshire Police Transgender Management Guide

(<http://www.nottinghamshire.police.uk/sites/default/files/documents/files/PG%20026%20Transgender%20Management%20Guide%20v1%200%20Nov%202012.pdf>)

Wiltshire Police Transgender Policy and Procedure

(<http://www.wiltshire.police.uk/information/documents/publication-scheme/policies-and-procedures/business-and-people-development/510-transgender-policy/file>)

Appendix G: Common Trans Terms

AG or Aggressive: A masculine identified woman; primarily used by LGBT+ community of colour.

Ally: An individual who confronts heterosexism, sexism, homophobia, heteronormativity, etc. for a concern for the well-being of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and other individuals in the LGBT+ spectrum. Allies consider heterosexism as a social injustice.

Androgyne: An individual who has traits stereotypically ascribed to males and females.

Asexuality: An individual generally characterized by not having a sexual attraction or desire for partnered sexuality. Some asexual have sex and there are different ways of being asexual. Being asexual is different than being celibate, which is a deliberate withdrawal from any type of sexual activity.

Bigendered: A person who identifies as having two genders exhibiting cultural and stereotypical characteristics of male and female roles.

Bisexual: An individual whose primary sexual and affectional attraction is drawn towards people of the same sex and other genders.

Butch: A term used to describe some types of masculine lesbian women who do not conform to stereotypical feminine presentations. The term can also be used as a descriptive adjective towards any person who has a masculine presentation despite their sexual orientation or gender.

Cisgender: A gender identity that society considers similar to the biological sex assigned at birth. The term is frequently used by transgender individuals to distinguish themselves from others on the sexual spectrum.

Clitoroplasty: Medically created clitoris.

Crossdresser: Most commonly used the most neutral word to describe how a person dresses in clothing stereotypically associated with another gender within society. This term has been used to replace “transvestite” which is viewed as outdated and offensive since it was historically used to diagnose medical/ mental health illnesses.

Drag King: A woman who dresses up as a stereotypical male but may not have a masculine expression in their usual life. Typically, this is performed in reference to a stage act or performance.

Drag Queen: A man who dresses up as a stereotypical female but may not have feminine expression in their usual life. Typically, this is performed in reference to a stage act or performance. It is sometimes used incorrectly in a derogatory manner, to refer to all transgender women.

FFS: Facial feminization surgery.

FTM (F2M): Female-to-male transgender person.

Gay: An individual whose primary sexual and affectional attraction is towards people of the same gender.

Gender: A social construct to classify an individual as a man, woman, or other identity. This is different than the sex one is assigned at birth.

Gender expression/ presentation: This is how an individual express oneself in terms of dress and or behaviours that society characterizes as masculine and feminine. Since gender identity is internal, one's gender identity is not necessarily perceived by or visible to others.

Genderfluid: An individual who is viewed as having a fluid nature representative of two or more genders which shifts naturally in gender identity and/or gender expression and presentation.

Genderfuck: A form of gender identity in which an individual exhibits an intentional attempt to present a confusing gender identity that contributes to the collapse of stereotypical perceptions of gender.

Gender dysphoria: A medical diagnosis that concerns the constant and overwhelming desire to live in the opposite gender that a person was not born into. Often this medical diagnosis is needed for individuals to begin their gender transformation. Many transgender individuals request that the diagnosis be classified as physical rather than psychological, but they feel that there needs to be a medical diagnosis to ensure continued availability of treatment.

Gender identity: An individual's self-conceptualization of their own gender. In other words, a person's internal sense of where they exist in relationship to identifying as male or female.

Gender non-conforming: An individual who does not conform to gender expressions or gender roles expected by society.

Gender outlaw: An individual who refuses to be defined by the stereotypical conventional definitions of gender roles. This term was popularized in a Gender Outlaw by Kate Bornstein.

Genderqueer: An individual who identifies as neither male nor female, identify as a combination of both, or who present themselves in a non-gendered way.

GRS: Gender reassignment surgery.

Hormone therapy: The medical administration of hormones to aid and facilitate the development of secondary sex characteristics as part of the transition process. FTM may take testosterone while MTF may take oestrogen and androgen blockers.

Intersex: An individual who is born with external genitalia, chromosomes, or internal reproductive systems that are not associated with typical medical definitions of male or female.

Lesbian: A woman whose primary sexual and affectional attraction is towards people of the same gender.

Metoidioplasty: A surgical procedure to create a small penis by extending and using the clitoris. Typically, after this surgery a second one is preformed to allow urination through the penis.

MTF (M2F): Male-to-female transgender person.

Non-monosexual: Individuals who have a romantic, sexual, or affectional desire for more than one gender. Individuals who identify as bi-sexual would fit into this category.

Omnigendered: An individual who possess all genders and exhibits stereotypically perceptions of males and females. This term is typically used to challenge the notion that there are only two genders.

Oophorectomy: The surgical removal of the ovaries.

Orchidectomy: The surgical removal of testicles.

Pansexual, omnisexual: An individual who has romantic, sexual, or affectional desire for people of all genders and sexes. This term is typically used instead of “bi-sexual” due to the challenge that there are only two genders.

Penectomy: Removal of the penis.

“Passing” or “Legible”: An individual who’s gender identity and presentation matches in casual situations. A person who successfully “passes” appears in all aspects as the gender they are assuming.

Phalloplasty: The surgical creation of a penis.

Queer: A term used by individuals who want to be identified as such. It could include anyone who chooses to be labelled as such along the entire LGBT+ spectrum.

Same gendered loving: A term commonly used by some African-American individuals who love, date, and/or have an attraction to some one of the same sex. This term is used by individuals who want to distance themselves from terms that are associated with the perceived “white-dominated” communities.

Sex: A category based on the biological characteristics (i.e. genitalia) assigned at birth.

Tracheal Shave: Medical procedure that reshapes the Adams apple.

Trans: An umbrella term encompassing those that identify with a gender or gender expression that is different in some way from the sex they were assigned at birth. This includes those that identify as transgender, non-binary gender people, and cross-dressing people.

Transfag: A trans male identified individual who is attracted to other male identified individuals.

Transition: The period during which a person begins to live as their new gender. Transitioning can include legally changing one's name and gender on paperwork, taking hormones, having surgeries, etc. to reflect their new gender.

Transman: see also FTM.

Transwoman: see also MTF.

Tryke: A trans female identified individual who is attracted to other female identified individuals.

Two Spirit: This term encompasses indigenous individuals who fulfil one of many mixed gender roles found typically in Native American and Canadian First Nations indigenous groups. Dual-gendered, or "two-spirited", are viewed differently in indigenous communities and are typically seen without stigma and are considered emissaries from the creator. It should be noted that they can be treated with deference or respect, but this may not always be the case.

Vaginoplasty: A surgically created vagina.

Womyn: Some individuals spell the word with a "y" as form of empowerment to remove the "men" component from the traditional spelling of "women".